

LANGUAGE PLANNING

Proceedings of an Institute

Edited by
E. Annamalai
Björn H. Jernudd
Joan Rubin

Central Institute of Indian Languages
Manasagangotri, Mysore - 570 006, India

Institute of Culture and Communication
East-West Center
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Language Planning

Editor D.P.Pattanayak

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FOREWORD

D. P. Pattanayak

Language, communication, and human needs are intimately connected. Individuals and groups communicate with one another to fulfill human needs--economic, political, social, and cultural.

Each person, unless he is physically or mentally handicapped, has at least one perfectly good language that may serve his everyday practical and spiritual needs. He acquires another language either to fulfill intellectual needs or to better his opportunities. Expansion of the intellectual horizon can be attained by transmission of knowledge either through oral medium or through written medium. In the first instance, one is a speaker-hearer, whereas in the second, one is a reader-writer. Those who combine both the facilities often claim superiority over those who have only the oral abilities.

The dominant mode of acquiring literacy all over the world is through schooling. Unfortunately, the expectations from literacy are too high and the commitments too low. Therefore, in the absence of an appreciation of the importance of oral patterns of communication and an understanding of the relationship of the oral patterns to the written patterns,

PREFACE

The problems of language and planning for their solution in the developing countries differ in ethos and aspirations from those of the developed countries. These differences may argue for a language planning model in Third World countries that is different from the models developed on the basis of the experience of the Western countries. India has a special place in terms of the complexity of its language problems, and it can learn more profitably from the experience of other developing countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. This sharing of experience will help to reorient the models of language planning, which will contribute to the establishment of language planning as an international academic discipline.

With these objectives in mind, the Central Institute of Indian Languages of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Government of India, at Mysore organized an International Institute in Language Planning from June 16 to July 11, 1980, under the direction of Dr. D.P. Pattanayak. It was a natural follow-up of the International Institute in Language Planning organized by the Culture Learning Institute of the East-West Center in Honolulu in 1977.

The focus of the second institute was on multilingualism

literacy education has suffered considerably, and the fulfillment of the promise of literacy has not been met to the extent desired.

Schooling converts mother tongues into a product and attaches relative values to second and further languages. Through language teaching and use, it regulates access to education, status, and wealth. Thus, the languages that receive preferential treatment tend to appropriate to themselves disproportionate privileges, and inequity sets in.

Since the graduates of educational institutions form the controlling elite group in any society, the style of planning is to a considerable extent determined by the style of thinking inculcated by education. Thus, one would find that in the post-colonial developing countries, educated persons tutored in the modes of Western thinking consider (1) transnational communication more important than national communication, (2) standardization and uniformity more important than transmission of knowledge and information within the country, and (3) translation and transference of knowledge more important than creation of knowledge. Instead of considering the existing variation as a strength to build upon, they plan for reduction of variation, thus creating confrontation among groups using different languages. They then prescribe so-called neutral languages to be used at different levels among the many groups seeking self-fulfillment through symbolic or token functional recognition of their languages. These societies are then made permanent parasites on the developed countries for knowledge and information. By destroying interdependent self-directed

societies, the elites in these countries achieve what colonialism failed to achieve through coercive occupation.

Language is a barometer of the socioeconomic planning in a country. Language use in education which creates inequity by restricting or denying the right of minority language groups even to exist, language use in administration that restricts or denies access to other language groups to effectively participate in the socioeconomic developments, and language use in mass communication which bestows the right to control and manipulate information and knowledge by the controlling elite threaten to destroy the very basis of multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural countries. It promotes a view of development that equates modernization with Westernization and projects a mono-model as the only way through which planned societies can operate. It is in this context that the Second International Institute of Language Planning was held here with greater participation of Asian and African countries and with greater emphasis on minorities and tribals. It aimed at sharing experiences and exploring alternate styles of planning. I am happy to report that it has proved to be a tremendous learning experience for us and has immensely contributed to language planning theory and practice.

I express my sincere thanks to professional colleagues from different parts of the country and different parts of the world whose participation contributed to this success.

and linguistic minorities, which are characteristic features of Third World countries. The participants of the institute came from India, Nepal, Bangladesh, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, Indonesia, Mauritius, Tanzania, Canada, and the United States. The activities of the Institute consisted of lectures on theoretical aspects of language planning, panel discussions on selected problems, presentation of papers on language planning activities in selected countries, seminar presentation of papers on selected themes, and group work done by ten groups. The panels were on linguistic, legal, social, educational, and political aspects of planning. The working groups dealt with issues such as the training and legal aspects of planning for administration, planning in the legal domain, pedagogical and language rights and elite formation issues in the planning for education, planning for mass communication, and planning for script and spelling and for term creation and discourse development. There were special invited lectures by officials of the Government of India and Karnataka involved in language planning tasks.

The Institute was successful in stimulating an intensive intellectual atmosphere for discussing issues of language planning, in sharing the experience of language planning in different countries, and in contributing towards realizing the need for a new model of language planning. The success was the direct result of contributions by the host of CIIL staff, who spared no effort both at personal and official levels, by the Government of India, which provided a substantial part of the funds for the Institute, and by the Ford Foundation, whose grant to the Institute helped to meet

expenses of many scholars from abroad. We are thankful to all of them.

It was planned to bring out three volumes arising out of the proceedings of the Institute and a few contributions by the scholars assembled in the Institute, which will be introductions to sociolinguistics and language planning. However, we are able to now bring out only the selected contributions made at the Institute as its Proceedings. We hope that this volume compensates those originally planned by its new orientation and fresh approach to the problems of language and language planning, particularly in the developing countries.

We wish to thank Beverly F. Toyozaki, Joyce Gruhn, and Michelle Rousset of the East-West Center Institute of Culture and Communication, who typed the final version of the manuscript, and the East-West Center Publications Office, which edited the manuscript and prepared it for publication.

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APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE PLANNING

Björn H. Jernudd

One of the delights of the Mysore Institute was perhaps more apparent to language planning scholars from outside India than from within. This was the taking for granted of the fact of language planning. For Indian scholars, language planning is a fact of life and available for study. Therefore, the Mysore participants were able to get on with the business of modelling forms of deliberate handling of language problems in the public interest and by public agencies, in relation to individual and group needs for correction of language problems. The central research questions of language planning study could therefore be addressed meaningfully, namely (cf. Jernudd 1982), under what circumstances do corrections of which language problems justify planning, and, what is effective planning?

The need for rigorous theoretical development of the field was repeatedly stressed during the Institute, among others by Rangila and Rangan as represented in this volume by their note on the status of theory in language planning. They demand theories with explanatory power; it is not sufficient to identify problems; problem-typologies are only surface data.

But there is also a severe lack of data on kinds of language problems as perceived by people in different walks of life, not to speak of as identified and sometimes corrected in speaking and writing. Institute participants felt a need for empirical work to remedy this lack of data, taking great care to separate popular understanding of an issue from analytical understanding of a set of problem events and correction events.

There was agreement that models have to be demonstrably based in particular peoples' needs for assistance with correction of language. A grounding of theory in the individual's language use will help eliminate a priorism and will keep arbitrary prescriptivism in check; it becomes possible to separate imposition of language requirements from assistance with language problems; and it joins the study of language planning with the field of linguistics.

This approach makes the study of language movements highly relevant to delimitation of language planning theory. In his paper, Annamalai characterizes "movements." Movements originate from the people, and people who make them up are committed to change in social institutions and social norms. Movements form part of the process of reconciliation between planners and public through action and counteraction which constitutes language planning.

Pattanayak in his paper on language planning in the context of regional planning takes a compatible view and elaborates on the need for linkages for intergroup communication, particularly in multilingual settings. Language planners--the practitioners--may "lose sight of the communication needs

of both regional and social groups" (p. 21), and a paradigm of language planning study that gives emphasis to "central planning" must be supplemented by enrichment of the model to encompass also the realities of planning at different levels ("the Center, the states, and sometimes by local organizations," p. 23) and towards multilingual solutions for multilingual communities.

The multilingual approach is detailed by Srivastava with emphasis on the educational system. He posits the elimination of language barriers and the support of wider communication for interaction between speakers of different languages as constraints on this approach: "every attempt has to be made by the society to maintain and develop not only the dominant languages but also the less dominant languages spoken by comparatively fewer people" (p. 52).

Scholars from Quebec also face language planning reality. In his paper on the use of law in language planning, Prujiner characterizes status planning concerns as obviously political, yet, as facts of life; for example, "it is impossible to conceive an educational system without a language policy, explicit or not" (p. 90). The study of laws affecting the use of a given language in given circumstances (one of three "kinds of laws that may intervene in a process of language planning," p. 82) is legitimized, indeed, necessitated by this straightforward observation of human social behavior. One may not like what is being done by one group of people in control of the state to another, speaking a different language, but if one wants to do something about it, study leading to understanding, discussion, and criticism

offers one route of action. And knowledge accumulates in the bargain! In regard to corpus planning laws (a second kind of laws), Prujiner posits that social and linguistic consensus must be reached for legal sanctions to be useful, but legal sanctions may support reaching such consensus. The third kind of laws grant legal ability to plan language(s).

Rubin confronts stereotyped understanding of planning and effectively dispels a series of uninformed opinions about the model of language planning. For example, students of planning should know that the model of planning, of language or any other social problem, does not promise solutions to wicked problems for which there can be no definitive formulations--however much political leaders may want some to believe otherwise! If interested and affected parties do not participate in adequate fashion in making decisions about their society and language, then it is hardly likely that sufficient consideration is given to alternatives of action that satisfy them.

A fully developed language planning discussion must seek an analytical understanding of what policies are possible and under what conditions (both historical and normative); and it would know what designs, measures, institutions, instrumentalities and operations are available with what systemic effects, in relation to policies (cf. Ackoff 1978). While language planning study so far has gained some insight into what people and their societies ought to do, it is important that other dimensions be explored and developed, namely, what people and their societies can and will do (cf. Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971 on goals of language planning). Also, lan-

guage planning study has considerable strengths in regard to policies that concern "languages" as entities ("status" planning). It should refine its understanding in the direction of appreciation of differentiation of "languages" and measures of language development, both measures that flow from "language policies" and measures that flow from concern with equivalent discourse and naming (such as, e.g., international professional terminologies; cf. Jernudd and Thuan 1984) across languages. Students of language planning need to know more about why and when what language problems appear in speech communities of different types and under what circumstances correction of particular language problems justify what kind of planning.

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A TYPOLOGY OF LANGUAGE MOVEMENTS
AND THEIR RELATION TO LANGUAGE PLANNING

E. Annamalai

The definition of language planning as organized intervention to influence the nature and pace of language development (Annamalai 1979a) is at once broad and narrow. It is broad as far as the agent of planning is concerned by not restricting it to the government or a central agency. It is narrow as far as the goal of planning is concerned by restricting it to language development. In support of the broad definition of the agent of planning, this paper will describe the role of language movements in language development or change. It will also point out, in modification of the goal of planning, that language planning is an instrument of social development or change as well.

Social scientists have recently taken an interest in the study of social movements. In India alone in the past few years there were three seminars, on social movements (Rao 1979), tribal movements (Singh, in press), and language movements (Annamalai 1979a). On the basis of Indian data, this paper attempts a typology of language movements from the points of view of social movements and language planning. It is necessary to define a movement first.

Movements, by definition, are not governmentally organized, though the term is used in expressions like cooperative movement, dairy movement, library movement, literacy movement, etc., which in India are organized and promoted by the government. They are governmental programs and, when the government takes special efforts to make the people participate in their execution on a wide scale, they are campaigns. But they are not movements. Movements originate from the people, and they are not highly organized with "sanction of reward and punishment" (Rao 1979). Wilkinson (1971) also considers minimal degree of organization as a basic element in a social movement. But they are not mob action. They "last longer and are more integrated than mobs" (Herberle 1951). An important feature of a social movement is "a sense of belonging and of solidarity among members . . . although empirically it occurs in various degrees," which is absent in mobs (Herberle 1951).

Along with organizational characteristics, the social scientists agree that a commitment to change (Wilkinson 1971) is another basic element in a social movement. Herberle (1951) defines it as change in social institutions and social norms. A movement may also be committed to no change or the status quo (Mahapatra 1972). On the basis of the type of change that is brought about, be it in social relations, institutions, or norms or in all of them, the social movements may be classified into reformative and revivalistic. The revivalistic movements "seek to restore the good old days" (Troisi 1979) and have a strong urge to do away with whatever is alien to a society's culture (Wallace 1956).

They want to restore selectively social relations, institutions, and norms that are believed to have existed in a golden age in the past. They have a native model for the change. The reformative movements, on the other hand, generally have an alien model. They come about as a result of contact with another culture. This, however, is not the only source; demands for reform may arise out of a society's internal changes in its economic relations through industrialization and urbanization. In this situation, there is no model to look to. Nevertheless, in the developing countries or in tribal societies where industrialization and urbanization come with another culture, it is difficult to differentiate between the alien model and no model type.

Reform and revival are not invariant. Each could differ in the extent to which changes are to be brought about. The extreme forms on the continuum of reformative change are called transformative and revolutionary change. While the former aims at modification or partial change of the existing system, the latter aims at total change or replacement, which is also sudden (Rao 1979; Troisi 1979; McCaughlin 1969). We could identify an extreme form of revivalistic change also, but it does not have a name. We can add the no-change movement, which may be called rententive, perpetuative, or conservative (Linton 1943; Mahapatra 1972), to the revivalistic and reformative types of movements to get three basic types. These, however, are not to be understood as naming discrete phenomena.

Social movements may also be classified on the basis of the section of the society which is specifically affected by

the movement and who participate in it, such as peasant movements, tribal movements, women's movements, students' movements, and the like.

Social movements may use different cultural symbols in different degrees of intensity to rally the masses around a social cause. When language is the primary symbol of focus, they become language movements.

Different types of language movements can be said to have taken place in India (Annamalai 1979a) and elsewhere. These movements can be classified on the basis of concern with the status or the corpus of a language (Kloss 1977), though the two may be interrelated, as we shall see below. Movements concerned with language status are to maintain the language, to achieve separate identity, recognition for certain statutory privileges, and acceptance for use in certain domains. The problem of maintenance generally arises with reference to the mother tongue (Ekka 1979), though one also finds demands for maintenance of a classical language such as Sanskrit and a colonial language such as English, which are not mother tongues of the contemporary, native population excepting some small groups. There are, however, crucial differences between the maintenance of a mother tongue and a non-mother tongue. The domains in which they are to be maintained are different. The maintenance of a mother tongue is for self-preservation and ethnic identity, a classical language for cultural value and national identity, a colonial language for elite formation and preservation, intranational and international links between elites, and international identity. However, the question of maintenance arises in all cases when

there is a fear of disappearance of the language.

The question of separate identity arises out of the boundary problem of distinguishing dialects from languages. A speech community may choose to be distinct for reasons of preservation and political benefit and for this the speech is taken to be a distinguishing symbol. The controversies in India between Hindi and Urdu, Marathi and Konkani, and Hindi and Maithili and similar speech systems in the Hindi region (Brass 1975; Misra 1979) are some examples of this.

The establishment of separate identity is a prerequisite for statutory and national recognition. The demands in India on behalf of languages like Sindhi (Daswani 1979), Konkani, Maithili, Dogri, Manipuri, Khasi, and Santali for the Sahitya Academy to award prizes for the best literature and for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution are for recognition and privileges and to merit special attention for development.

Recognition strengthens the demands for acceptance for use in the administrative, legislative, legal, educational, and mass-communication domains at the national or regional levels and for governmental assistance for development. Many languages in India demand their use in All India Radio, controlled by the central government; languages in the Eighth Schedule demand their use in the national parliament; minority languages like Urdu in Uttar Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, Kokborok in Tripura, and Marathi in Karnataka demand their use as additional medium in education and administration.

Extension of use of languages into the public domains is facilitated when there is territorial unification and political consolidation based on the language in question which has given political control to the speakers of the language. Demands for linguistic states and autonomous districts (inhabited largely by tribal groups within the states) are many in India. The agitations for Samyukta Maharashtra (Phadke 1979) and Vishal Andhra are examples of the former; Mikir (Karbi) hills in Assam and Kokborok district in Tripura are examples of the latter. The movement of Santalis (Mahapatra 1979; Troisi 1979), who are spread over four states, is another example of this solidarity movement.

Corpus-oriented movements are concerned with the choice and reform of script (Daswani 1979) and spelling, choice of variety for specific domains (Krishnamurthi 1979; Chatterjee and Chatterjee 1979), and choice of source for lexical development (Annamalai 1979a). The question of choice of script arises not only in the case of unwritten languages but also in the case of languages with a writing system: the issue is choosing between regional, national, international, and invented scripts. Reform is about regularity and the number of graphemes for script and about the relation of speech to spelling. The question regarding choice of variety arises when the language assumes new functions, such as use in education and administration: whether a spoken, a standard, or a classical variety should be chosen. The choice of variety determines to a great extent the issue of source for enrichment of such vocabulary as has been necessitated by the new functions: vernacular or classical, native or foreign, national or international.

The question of efficiency of script, variety, and vocabulary from the points of view of communication, learning, and technology is debated in these movements. Nevertheless, the concern of identity is crucial. Thus, corpus movements are related to status movements. Agitation against the use of the script of the regional languages among many tribes in India, for example, aims at separate symbolic identities for the tribes. Similarly, puristic movements aim at maintaining an independent identity of the language and thus of the community of its users. Controversy over the choice of a classical variety and classicalization of the vocabulary versus vernacular variety and vernacularization is related to the class identity of the elite and the others.

Language movements may also be classified, like other social movements, on the basis of the type of change they bring about. The changes are not only linguistic but also social. Movements to change from the colonial language to use of a native language, from the national language to a regional language, and from the dominant or majority language to minority languages in public domains such as administration, legislature, legal system, education, and mass communication are reformative. Examples in India are the movements to replace English by Hindi at the national level by the respective regional languages at the state level, the demand to replace Hindi with the fifteen regional languages (including Sanskrit, Urdu, and Sindhi, which are not regional in the sense others are) at the national level, and the demand for additional use of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh and Kokborok in Tripura at the state level. Movements for continuation of

English at the national and state levels and for the unitary use of the regional language at the state level are retentive. The suggestion to replace English by Sanskrit in administration and to teach Sanskrit compulsorily in schools is revivalistic.

The changes brought about by the movements relating to corpus are more directly linguistic but have a bearing on the issue of social control also. Classicalization of the standard variety in general and the vocabulary in particular in Hindi and Tamil is revivalistic. Continuation of writing the tribal and other minor languages in the script of the dominant language of the state is retentive. The change of the script as in Bodo and the spelling as in Marathi is reformative.

Language movements are not restricted to a particular section of the society as some social movements are. However, a comparative study of language movements shows that they originate with the elite class who spearhead them (Annamalai 1979b), though ultimately they cut across classes and sections because of the pervasive nature of language as a symbol.

Language movements share the characteristics of social movements not only in their goals or consequences but also in the conditions conducive for their emergence. Rao (1979) suggests that relative deprivation is the crucial condition for the emergence of any social movement as "it places the perception of contradiction, conflict and protest at the centre of social movements." One could see that in the genesis of language movements also, relative deprivation plays a cru-

cial role, not only in its social sense but also in a linguistic sense from the point of view of functional distribution of languages.

The intensity of a movement is related to the intensity of deprivation and other social conditions. The above examples of language movements in India have not assumed a particular magnitude of a movement. Variation in this regard has been suggested by their description as movements, agitations, demands, and suggestions. Social scientists (e.g., Rao 1979) point out that collective mobilization is one of the defining features of a social movement. The extent of collective mobilization may differ in different cases and so all of them cannot strictly be called movements. Nevertheless, they are all public actions to bring about social change through the means of language.

The concerns of language movements are also the concerns of language planning. These movements affect language planning. They do so in two opposite ways. One is to influence language policy by forcing planners to take cognizance of the causes and consequences of movements in such a way as to make a policy that is implementable. The other is to influence the revision (or modification) of a language policy already made (Srivastava 1979) when its implementation meets with resistance through movements. Although public action forms a cline from memorandum to revolt and its influence on policy is related to its force, it is clear that language planning is a process of reconciliation between the planners and the public through action and counteraction. It is also clear that some language change, such as purification or simplifi-

cation, can be brought about through public action without any recourse to governmental action.

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LANGUAGE, POLITICS, REGION FORMATION, AND REGIONAL PLANNING

D.P. Pattanayak

MULTILEVEL PLANNING FOR A MULTILINGUAL SOCIETY

There is a growing realization that development is at the same time an economic, social, and political process. It is accepted that without a developmental strategy laying emphasis on local and intermediate-level approaches to development, development will lead to unbalanced and unequal growth. As a result, increasing attention is given to regional planning. Regional planners, however, have often concentrated on technical and allocative aspects of planning and are more concerned with the subdividing and static aspects of regional planning rather than with its human, aggregative, and dynamic aspects. That regional planning could be used as an important tool for national integration has, furthermore, been lost sight of in the maze of theoretical considerations and practical case studies. It is only through integrated use of physical resources and human resources that planning can succeed in developing countries. Unless social factors and contexts are taken into consideration by planners, they produce a plan that will have little relevance to the people for whom it is directed. In the strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, it has rightly been said that "It cannot be overemphasized that what development implies for

the developing countries, is not simply an increase in productive capacity but major transformations in their social and economic structures" (United Nations 1970, 15).

Regions are by and large defined on the basis of homogeneity and contrast of traits in spatially defined areas. Whether one accepts cultures and social behavior or economic and resources management as the basis for regional delimitation, one is bound to meet conceptual contradictions which make it difficult to sustain definitions on the above lines. Traits cutting across regions, no matter how rigorously they are defined, have led social scientists to postulate culture areas, linguistic areas, natural areas, and social areas. That even cluster analysis through tied traits or symbol pool could involve arbitrary cut-off points in individual measures can be seen from the excellent study by Tryon.

Cohn (1966), speaking of subjective and objective regions, lists (1) natural regions, (2) linguistic regions, (3) cultural regions, and (4) structural regions. Every social group selects and standardizes symbols to be used as identity tokens. Such symbols are transmitted to the succeeding generations and in turn are renewed and reinforced, thus creating myth and history, which constantly shape and alter social groups. An innovative planner must be aware of the social dynamics of intergroup relations if he is to succeed in regional planning.

As national planning cannot serve a positive function without reference to regional development, regional planning cannot exist outside the framework of a global national plan. If regional planning is to be "growth promoting and environ-

ment ameliorating" (Kuklinsky 1969, viii, ix), then it has to act as a tool of overall social development. Planning then must aim at not only a rise in the national income and structural changes in the economy but also at social transformation leading to removal of social constraints in the way of growth and ensuring equal opportunity to access to resources and benefits of development. Language planning assumes importance in this context. Languages as media of education, administration, and the like, if not properly planned, can become selective in the choice of beneficiaries, and thus by planting the seeds of inequality in the very psyche of individuals and groups can frustrate economic planning aiming at equality.

While talking of language planning the problem of delimiting the region assumes paramount importance. The perspective is bound to be different depending on whether one takes the country, a (linguistic) state, or a (ethnic, dialectal, or minor language-speaking) sub-region within a state as cut-off point. While in a dominant monolingual region control of dialects and varieties is necessary for enlarging one's field of communication, in a multilingual region control of many languages is essential for the same purpose. Advice and consent of different language speakers therefore assumes greater importance in multilingual planning.

Planning is generally envisaged as entailing a centrally directed authority appraising and allocating resources for various purposes. Any deviation from the centrality of planning, whether it is planning for a micro-resources region or centrally permitted multilevel planning, is meant to remedy

imbalances introduced by centrally directed planning. These are not results of a grass-roots consciousness which would permit the planner to perceive the differential rates and levels of growth within a country and seek equality of development in the international sphere of planning. The imitative intellectual style, the pseudo-internationalism, the lopsided values of the Third World social scientist intellectually socialized in the western milieu (Dube 1978) have resulted not only in propounding theories and methodologies that have little relevance to their own country but also in creating a self-image that is self-deprecatory and self-destructive. Thus, when Gunnar Myrdal (1968) refers to the need for developmental planning in countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and says those countries are characterized by low labor productivity and low per capita income, low levels of living, undesirable (from the developmental angle) attitude and patterns of performance in life and at work, and institutional barriers to change, it smacks more of a neo-colonial approach to development by a social scientist with an uneasy conscience than of realistic assessment of true potential.

Centrality of planning is a necessary concomitant of the Euro-American notion of a nation state. Language planning is no exception to this. Language planners in their obsession for a national language and in their ignorance of micro planning in a macro context often emphasize central planning (Rubin 1973). As a result of macro-level decisions on sectoral schemes, they lose sight of the communication needs of both regional and social groups and the need for linkages for

intergroup communication, particularly in a multilingual setting (Pattanayak 1979). Within a group, individual decision making is, if not conforming to the group norms, determined by and large by egocentric and ideosyncratic considerations. Similarly, social relations among groups are constantly shaped and reshaped by the interplay of economic, political, religious, ethnic, linguistic, and other factors so that the social cost-benefit of linguistic decisions cannot easily be computed in financial terms. Even if the financial benefit of competing choices were worked out, the attainment can neither be predicted nor justified solely in these terms.

The ethos of predominantly monolingual and predominantly multilingual countries is qualitatively different. Therefore, the dynamics as well as economics of planning must be viewed differently in the two situations. From a predominantly monolingual point of view, many languages are a nuisance as their acquisition is considered a burden. They are uneconomic and politically untenable. Even translation services are computed to be more economical than use of an additional language. In the case of multilingual countries, the reverse is the case. For them restrictions in the choice of languages is a nuisance, and one language is not only uneconomic, but it is politically untenable and socially absurd. The amount of resources spent to produce the 4 percent of English-knowing persons in India over the past two hundred years proves the absurdity of efforts to replace many languages by one under democratic planning. The cultural deprivation and sociopolitical inequality introduced by the approach of monolingual control of a multilingual policy make nonsense of any talk of economic benefit.

Language is a powerful marker trait for group identity. Therefore, language is essential in the very survival of cultural communities. As the tool for individual and group interaction, it either restricts or expands the communication spectrum and thus affects the processes of standardization and modernization. Because of the emotive nature of language, the social contexts of the users of languages can easily be manipulated to generate either affective or inhibitive behavior and thus create social tensions. It is the policy concern of the planner to resolve such tensions so that a true perspective of integrated planning can be ensured.

The Western model of language planning seems to aim at the replacement of many languages by one and many varieties by one standardized variety, although in recent times there has been a strongly expressed sentiment to maintain the home language. There is no wonder that such a monolingual model favors and supports a central planning apparatus. In the multilingual, multiethnic, and multicultural developing countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where the mono-model of necessity has to yield place to a multi-model, any model that insists on a central planning authority as a precondition for any language-related act to be recognized as language planning is therefore irrelevant. Such a model not only ignores realities in parts of Africa, where governmental decisions are implemented without policy and without implementation backed by planning, it also ignores realities in India, where apparently contradictory decisions are taken by the Center, the states, and sometimes by local organizations,

all backed by planning at different levels. The example of the decision of the local authorities to use Welsh in education (Frankenberg 1966, 137-142) contrary to the wishes of the central planners cannot be ruled out as language planning simply because the model inhibits such decisions and their implementation. Similarly, implementation of a two-language formula in Tamil Nadu in the face of a three-language formula propounded by the central government of India cannot be wished away as not coming within the purview of language planning.

Linguistic or cultural homogeneity of even one group is in a sense a fiction. Both culture and language are hierarchical notions embodying in them elements that could be called subcultures or dialects, which viewed from another angle are cultures and languages. In countries with linguistic and cultural diversity, the situation is more complex. In such countries, independent languages, sometimes belonging to more than one language family, create a complex web of relationships. Here, maintenance of identity of small groups and their integration within a larger national image constantly come into conflict. Any effort at standardization or cultural universalism through reduction of multiplicity could give the impression of imposition of limitations on the cultural alternatives available to the community. As technological innovations may accord superiority to a group of people in the society by altering group relations, changes in the communication network also could give advantage to a social group, who in turn appropriate to themselves benefits of technological innovations. These groups enter into domi-

nant minority relationship with others in the society. The dominant group then starts taking decisions without any reference to the interests of the minority communities.

The fifteen dominant languages listed in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, for example, enjoy certain privileges by virtue of their dominance which are often denied to the minority languages. They are recognized media for education and administration in states, where several hundred minority languages clamor for recognition. Whenever minority languages have been recognized as associate administrative languages in the states or even as media of primary education, they have been so recognized only after such groups generated sufficient pressure and not as a result of a priori policy planning.

Language politics is intimately connected with economic and resource planning. Unless resources are so developed that subgroups within a region or culture or groups within a culturally diverse nation get equal opportunity for their creative fulfillment, language is bound to be used for divisive purposes. Bangladesh provides an excellent example of a country where resource planning resulted in unequal development of regions and gave rise to expression of bitter frustration through a language movement that created the nation by causing it to break off from Pakistan. The resentment against regional imbalance found a rallying point around the language issue and ultimately resulted in the creation of a new nation. Planners and policymakers need to be educated about the continuing necessity and importance of language planning, as most often they tend to take languages for

granted. The developing countries cannot afford the luxury of labor-saving, capital-intensive planning on the model of the capitalist economy. They have to give more attention to manpower resource planning. More attention must be given by planners in these countries to the social aspects of planning, both in the interest of integrated innovative planning and maximum participation of people in the successful implementation of the plan.

In countries with diverse ethnic groups, reinforcement of ethnic differences by parallel language differences may pose major problems. In developing countries, where scarce resources leave even the dominant group disadvantaged in its own region, the latter naturally becomes reluctant to share political and economic power with the minority groups. The minority politicians find a powerful weapon in language to attack the adversary. Thus, Urdu in India became identified with the Muslims, although it is the mother-tongue of less than 50 percent of these Muslims, and has often been used as a tool of communal disharmony. The communal riots in post-independent Malaysia pitching the Malays against the Chinese community were triggered mainly by the issue of the use of language in education.

A very interesting development in such confrontations is the counter-reaction of the dominant group to the demands of the minority, whether it is the demand for the recognition of Kuo yu (Chinese language) by the Malayan Chinese Association, the recognition of Tamil by the Sri Lanka Tamils, or Urdu by Muslims in some Indian states. The majority group, which consider their language an essential marker not only of their

group identity but also of national identity, expect the minority to prove their nationalism by accepting the language of the majority as a medium of education and administration. This in turn worsens relations and the politics of confrontation continue. A good example is provided by Sudan, where the majority insistence on Arabic as the sole language of national identity resulted in a seventeen-year civil war. The Addis Ababa (1972) agreement was somewhat more equitable to the southern minorities, but it built in a durable inequity between the north and the south of Sudan. No planning, whether it is for a region or for a nation, can succeed unless a will to live together is generated among the people. A negative purpose such as fighting a common enemy can weld people together until the purpose is served, but until a conscious unity and will to live together are generated, it is futile to talk of a planned society.

HINDI IN INDIA

The writers of the American Constitution neither declared English the one official language nor did they declare one official religion. The Indian Constitution writers in their wisdom decided that Hindi should be the official language. They also made English the associate official language for a limited number of years which is being extended with no end in sight. The history of India probably would be different if it were made clear that there is no harm in using different languages as long as people know Hindi.

The status of Hindi as a language has been questioned by scholars (Kelley 1966); it has been the cause of intense political action (Das Gupta 1970; Raj 1969; Brass 1975); and because of its amorphous nature, both scholars and politicians have been hard put to delimit the Hindi region. While the extreme enthusiasts see Hindi replacing all other Indian languages, the detractors do not even accept Hindi as a link language in the scheme of national bilingualism. The Hindi question cannot be decided on the basis of majority. Although Hindi has been the subject of political debate both at national and state levels in North India, one thing strikes a student of the Hindi movement. Hindi has made some progress whenever it is a movement from within and a movement through voluntary efforts. There seems to have been retrogression when it is conceived as a movement from the top and propped up by government effort. The government effort at the expense of nongovernmental initiative smacks of imposition, and consequently it becomes a handy tool for political movements.

It is important to study the various currents and cross-currents responsible for the non-acceptance of Hindi even as the national official language. It is a pity and yet a fact that India is still groping to decide her basic institutions, frontiers, and ideologies, her major political, economic, and cultural patterns. The fact that communication zones are small in India alone should have been sufficient to convince Indian planners in favor of decentralized structures, both political and economic. But neither Indian politicians nor Indian planners are known for their realism.

English is one of the major symbols of British imperialism and Indian intellectual slavery. But Hindi was never a potential challenge to English dominance; the regional languages were. By abolishing English studies, the Hindi zone tried to sidestep these issues, to be confronted instead with consequent problems to their greater embarrassment. Even when Hindi assumed dominance through official patronage, it did not carry any guarantee that conforming to Hindi and shedding the alien language would bring material prosperity. On the contrary, Hindi was interpreted as a threat to the social and economic position of small groups. A belief slowly gained ground that national unity is a convenient excuse for actions motivated by more selfish motives.

Hindi did not even become an effective instrument of daily life in the Hindi zone itself. While Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi, Awadhi, and Braj continued to be powerful group symbols and used as media of vigorous literatures, the Hindi pandits and leaders complacently took things for granted. Bhojpur, Magadh, Mithila, Awadh, and Braj were spatially defined regions. The language continuum of North India broke into "focused" (Le Page 1978a) linguistic units. When, how, and why this happened was never studied nor remedied. The English and the English-educated Indian elite who had little understanding of the cultural tradition and who aimed at modernizing the country in the image of the West perpetuated the destruction of the "communal character" (Le Page 1978b) of languages in India.

Hindi did not become an emotional symbol for people of different cultural ancestries. Even though Hinduism provided

a cover for twelve philosophies, six believing in the existence of God and six not believing in the existence of God, to coexist so as to encompass monism, dualism, triadism, animism, animatism and all kinds of worship including ancestor worship, Hindi failed to become such a common symbol. On the contrary, spread of Hindi was interpreted as Hinduization rather than as Indianization. This left the large majority of people on the fringe of Hindu society and those outside the Hindu society almost out. This lack of identification of Hindi with Indianization provided a convenient handle to politicians who wanted to create cleavages such as Hindi versus Urdu, Hindi versus English, and Hindi versus other Indian languages.

In this country with multiple ethnic groups speaking languages that belong to from four to five different language families, Hindi should have become an emotional refuge for the minorities. Instead, Hindization is identified with rigid conservatism rather than with flexible pluralism.

While recognizing competing factions in the delimitations of linguistic states, the permanent and aggregate interests of the Indian community were not sought to be linked with Hindi. As a result and in spite of massive inputs, no non-Hindi group as a whole has taken up the cause of Hindi. Consequently, Hindi has remained as a symbol of North Indian identity rather than broadening into an Indian identity, unlike English in America, which became a powerful symbol of American rather than Anglo-Saxon identity.

Hindi has not attained the vitality that a language earns from use in organized society. The pan-Indian Hindi sought

to be created was so removed from the grass roots that it failed to draw sustenance from the various spoken languages as envisaged in Article 351 of the Constitution. Hindi, a latecomer as medium of education, administration, and mass communication, at best remained a competitor to other Indian languages rather than provided useful insight and experience for extension of the use of other regional languages into newer domains.

From the common man's point of view, Hindi is neither the language of authority nor of convenience. Because of lack of planned action, Hindi has neither been a cohesive link so as to wield the whole country into a single cultural region nor become a necessary concomitant of the national political personality of the country.

OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES

While a cursory look at the state of Hindi reveals unplanned ad hoc responses to the exigencies of the moment, the non-Hindi languages do not fair any better. Justice Rajmanner was appointed a one-man commission by the Tamil Nadu government to submit a report on Center-state relations. Language policy being a major plank of the DMK political platform, the commission had a good deal to say about language (Rajmanner 1971).

The Rajmanner report on Center-state relations presents a picture regarding languages that reveals utter confusion and contradictory thinking. The report conveniently avoids the

issue of official languages of the states. This is intimately connected with the issue of official language at the Center. The report assumes that each of the present states and Union territories is a monolingual unit. A cursory glance at the census figures will prove this to be a myth. Linguistic minorities in states and Union territories range from 2.2 percent to 79.44 percent of the total population of these units (Central Institute of Indian Languages 1971). If the so-called principle of administrative convenience is to be invoked in the way suggested (which the British successfully used to thwart the development of Indian languages), then most of the states would be forced to adopt a language other than the one prevalent in the state, including the dominant majority language. The logic of equality of burden would force the states to adopt an outside language equally inconvenient to both the majority and the minority language speakers.

If, on the other hand, states are reorganized by the Center purely on the basis of language according to the Constitution, then it will end up as a practical joke. There are 1,652 mother-tongues in India and the major languages have their dialects, styles, and registers. The complexities resulting from such a situation are too apparent to discuss. In a country with grass roots multilingualism, no matter how one divides the states, there are bound to be linguistic minorities within a state. If their identities are not recognized and respected by the majority, there is bound to be a demand for independent states for minorities.

It is seldom appreciated that one language does not make

for one state. All English-speaking people, for instance, are not one. The separatist movements in Andhra, Maharashtra, and Karnataka also prove this point. The entire Hindi-speaking north is divided into a number of states and Union territories. In view of this, most states' attitudes towards their internal problems and the principles they propound for external relations, be it interstate or Center-state, indicate dual standards and are self-defeating.

The Rajmanner report asks for the "option of addressing the House either in English or in any of the languages specified in the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution." None of the states willingly give this facility in the state legislatures. On the other hand, like the Tamil Nadu Official Languages Act of 1956, most states have acts providing for progressive use of the dominant languages in all administrative spheres. Even though Tamil Nadu passed a language act in 1964 for the continued use of English, it did not provide for the use of any language of the Eighth Schedule.

There is no face validity of clinging to the Eighth Schedule either. Languages listed in this schedule do not have any relevance for the drawing of state boundaries, for the declaration of an official language within states, or for use as media of communication at different levels. In fact, Article 344(1) being inoperative and Article 351 being recommendatory (the intents of which can be best achieved by listing languages prevalent in the country), the Eighth Schedule itself has been anachronistic.

The Report recommends that "English should continue as the link language among the states inter se." There seems to be

no reason to prescribe a language in which two states would communicate with one another. This is best left to the states themselves. The report in a way concedes this point while it admits that "This need not be for an indefinite period. The Act of 1963 furnishes the necessary guidelines."

The Report leans heavily on "The Indian Constitution-- Corner Stone of a Nation" by Granville Austin. Austin is anything but a language expert. His views on language are folkloristic and often mischievous. Take for instance the following statements quoted by the report: "Hindustani might be the language of the masses, but was it sufficiently developed to meet the needs of science, technology and politics? Bengali and Tamil were much more developed and better met the needs of a modern State; yet even they were not wholly adequate to the task. . . ." It is not known what indices Austin used to gauge the relative development of languages and what led him to conclude that even Bengali and Tamil are inadequate to meet the needs of a modern state. Austin is blissfully unaware of the simple linguistic fact that any language has the potential of meeting any communicative need, be it science, philosophy, or politics. No language was "developed" before it was called upon to meet the need of society at any time, not even the English language.

The report calls for the use of state official languages by the central government offices located within states. It has conveniently ignored the issue of use of language in state government offices in other states and in Union territories. The confrontation in regard to Center-state relations about the use of language is manifest in the case

before the Madras High Court on the learning of Hindi by center employees. This problem is so complex that it cannot be resolved by an attitude of confrontation.

The burden of the Rajmannar report is to argue for the retention of English as an official language for an indefinite period. The report holds that an act of Parliament, which can be annulled by a simple majority, is not a sufficient guarantee. Therefore it calls for an amendment to the Constitution to enshrine the provisions of section 3 of Central Act 19 of 1963 as amended by Central Act 1 of 1968 in the Constitution itself.

The reservations about majority rule under the parliamentary process on the one hand, and yet demand for vesting the power of amending even the fundamental rights enshrined in the Constitution in Parliament on the other, reveals the immaturity and inconsistency of intellectuals in India. No amount of safeguard can sanctify and protect an illogical privilege of the few which perpetuates the elite at the cost of the masses.

The Rajmannar Committee has assumed equal sharing of burden rather than sharing of richness of heritage as the basis of its argument. It has failed to see that in a country determined to achieve social transformation through democratic processes, a language identified with foreign as well as native elitist exploitation and spoken by hardly 4 percent of the population cannot take over the roles and functions of Indian languages nor can it provide the rootedness so necessary to serve as a national symbol. The committee, however, gave grudging recognition to Hindustani as the language of

the masses and thus as the de facto link language among the peoples of India, but it failed to grasp its importance in the scheme of future national development. With six states and one Union territory using some variety of Hindi, the Hindi-speaking region provides a much larger arena for competition than any other single language area. The national second choice for any Indian-language speaker, therefore, is bound to be Hindi, provided channels of fair competition are kept open. English will remain as an ancillary language operating in specific domains irrespective of constitutional provision, not only because it provides a cultural link with the outside world, but also because it has become part of the Indian heritage. Restriction is as bad as, if not worse than, imposition. The states as well as the Center will therefore do well to provide more opportunities to the younger generation to learn as many languages as they wish rather than restricting them to language(s) of prescribed choice. Only a multilingual approach to language planning can provide answers to intrastate, interstate, and center-state problems in this regard.

Both the Center and the states have taken a casual view of the language situation. Although language is so vital to education and all communication, and consequently for ushering in social change, there is no machinery for consultation between the states and Union for evolving an acceptable strategy. The center has an edge over the states in determining language policy. However, it has failed in purposive implementation of programs in spite of the resources at its command and it has permitted drift. Only language planning

and the implementation of plans in mutual consultation and cooperation between linguistic groups, states, and the center can assuage feelings in this regard.

NORTHEASTERN INDIA

In the competition among languages, minority language speakers are faced with the loss of their identity. It is true that for complex reasons many minority groups voluntarily merge their linguistic identities with the neighboring dominant languages; but by and large and as a result of focusing of their varieties of language, others assert their identities. When such assertion is correlated with real or assumed economic exploitation, it becomes a powerful movement. Such movements pose a threat to the central authority by challenging central planning, which thrives on regional imbalances.

For purposes of planning, tribal regions have been identified and classified by the government of India (Menon et al. 1978). But this is barely adequate. The agitation to create a Santhal state or a Jharkhand state in Eastern India are indices of demands for a new rationale for region formation. Northeastern India presents a study of the clash of emotions, interests, and power equations among various communal ethnic and linguistic identities and groups.

Northeastern India consists of Assam, Nagaland, Tripura, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, and Arunachal Pradesh and presents a challenge to the linguist, the social scientist, and

the planner. A region with 213 languages and almost 150 ethnic groups is in some ways comparable to the arbitrary carving out of the African countries after the Congress of Berlin in 1884. What was once Assam and NEFA are now seven states and Union territories, and movements are afoot for further segmentation. At the same time, a Northeastern Council tries to provide middle-level linkage among these units.

Language as a factor in region formation has never been taken seriously. Controversy regarding peripheral areas continues even today. Moreover, while the principle was conceded in case of the dominant languages, no clear-cut policy was enunciated in regard to languages spoken by relatively smaller numbers of people and in regard to minority languages within majority zones. In any case, Northeastern India was considered too sensitive even for a discussion of the issues involved.

The language movements in Northeastern India are intimately connected with the ethnic movements. Ethnicity is sometimes confused with race and sometimes with religion. Marriage of ethnicity with language has not been considered as a serious factor in region formation. This relationship requires study. In multilingual and multicultural countries, a person may have multiple identities. Apart from a national and a regional identity, a person may have an ethnic, a religious, and a linguistic identity. Together or in isolation, these can be powerful forces in shaping behavior. Linguistic factors tend to correlate with regional political behavior. Research is needed to study this phenomenon in greater detail in a region where lack of understanding of the interplay of

language, religion, and politics has led to great suffering.

Although India is a secular state, separation of church from state and school from church has not taken place. Religious rivalries and establishment of denominational schools have contributed to the fluidity of the situation. It is important to study language use in these schools and the effect of such schooling on society.

The cultural monism propounded by several groups has the implication of physical extermination of subordinate groups. Some have propounded forcible assimilation of cultural minorities in the name of development, directly or in disguise. Others, sympathetic to minorities, have suggested cultural integration. But integration presupposes that the minority joins the mainstream as defined by the dominant power group by giving up most if not all of its characteristics. Therefore, this is nothing but veiled assimilation. The concepts of a multicultural state and a multicultural region and its working have not been fully grasped, although historically two models are available to us. One is the model of the Roman empire built on the two complementary notions of state and nationalities; and the other is the British empire, which did not acknowledge the second concept. India, which draws principally on British common law, has sought to recognize variation within a once-British framework, but this has added to the confusion. A study of North-eastern India, where tribal laws are still discernible in the midst of enforced common law, may be more rewarding.

CONCLUSION

It is not necessary to labor hard to prove the necessity of language planning in multilingual and pluricultural countries. In such countries with small zones of communication and small group loyalty contours, regions and groups are fluid. Unless linkages are established so as to ensure both horizontal and vertical flow of communication, the very basis of government and society can be undermined. A planned multilingual and multicultural society can only be sustained with increased participation of the community in regulating governmental policies and programs.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING IN MULTILINGUAL CONTEXTS:
EDUCATIONAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

A. K. Srivastava

Language is closely related with social change. With proper planning of language, social change can be brought about. Recently, this realization brought together social scientists from various disciplines, and the result was the birth of an interdisciplinary venture known as language planning. Emphasizing the need for an interdisciplinary approach, Rubin and Jernudd thus wrote in the introduction to the book, Can Language be Planned? (1971, xiv):

In the present volume, language planning is seen from the vantage point of sociolinguistics, sociology, social psychology, political science, and economics; for language planning cannot be seen in isolation from social planning. The coordination of people's views regarding language, the gathering of data as background to language decision-making, the technical tools for choosing among several alternatives, and the like are all problems that require the knowledge and methods of many and seemingly diverse disciplines.

This paper focuses on some of the implications from educational and psychological points of view.

In 1957 Uriel Weinreich for the first time used the term "language planning" as the title of a seminar at Columbia

University, and Einar Haugen first used this term in the literature (Karam 1974). Since then there has been an attempt to develop a theoretical framework for this field of study. Fishman (1974, 15), foreseeing the time when language planning practice will benefit from theoretical research, quotes Kurt Lewin's adage, "nothing is as practical as a good theory." It is beyond the purview of this paper to discuss whether the theory of language planning will be a theory developed in the scientific sense of the word (meaning thereby exploratory hypotheses formation, testing of hypotheses on the basis of methodically validated experimentation, and drawing of inferences with high prediction and generalization value) or just a systematic attempt to enunciate the process and typologies of language planning.

Rubin (1973) discusses three typologies. The first was proposed by Haugen (1966) and continues to be in common usage. This includes four types: policy formation, codification, elaboration, and implementation. In place of these four, Jernudd (1973) focuses on three: language determination, which includes policy formulation; language development, which includes codification and elaboration; and implementation. The second typology proposed by Neustupny (1970) suggests two approaches, those of policy and cultivation, the latter referring to the specialized functions of correctness, style, and communication competence. The third typology of Rabin (1971) includes three aims of language planning: extralinguistic, semilinguistic, and linguistic. This is more expressive of the interdisciplinary character of the field since Rabin classifies the roles of different disciplines under these aims.

For the purposes of this paper, I would like to classify language planning as language choice and language change. Language choice refers to the selection of language or languages for use in education, administration, and mass communication in the light of the social realities of the ethos in which language planning is to be done. Language change refers to codification, elaboration, and cultivation. Rubin and Jernudd (1979) hold that language planning always involves language change, which is of two types, namely, allocation of language use and corpus planning. While the former involves the choice between languages/varieties, the latter is concerned with within-language/varieties activities related to script, spelling, grammar, terminologies, pronunciations, and discourse development. They feel that the classification of language choice is similar to allocation of language use. They favor maintaining uniformity in classifying the field, which will help to develop a uniform theoretical framework for the area. This paper discusses some of the psychological and educational aspects related to allocations of language use/language choice of multilingual countries.

LANGUAGE CHOICE IN A MULTILINGUAL CONTEXT

From the point of view of a psychologist, the ethos of multilingualism differs very much from that of monolingualism, and before any language planning is attempted, this difference has to be properly appreciated. To view multilingualism with a monolingually conditioned perception would distort the perspective and result in bias. It is interesting to find that

Fishman (1972) starts his discussion of stable intragroup multilingualism with a hypothetical example. He does so on the assumption that American students have become accustomed to the situation of "one man, one language" since bilingualism is a vanishing phenomenon for them. Multilingualism in itself is neither good nor bad. It is just a situation that, because of untactful handling or because of social change, becomes a negative issue (Simon 1969). Therefore, any attempt to interpret this situation as a negative situation or with negative conditions has to be emphatically decried. I have in mind a study by Books and Textor (reported by Fishman 1968), which describes a relationship between multilingualism and underdevelopment and all sorts of negative demographic, economic, educational, religious, historical, and other variables. Fishman (1968) himself criticizes this study on methodological grounds, and the author (1977) has logically criticized the several myths in favor of monolingualism held against multilingualism.

The first point of difference between the two situations is the availability of codes to the speakers from the two situations. Most of the persons in a multilingual setup have more than one language at their disposal to express themselves according to the needs of the social situation. In a monolingual country, a person has generally only one choice before him, and he varies only the words and structures from the "same language." Gumperz (quoted by Sankoff 1971, 34) puts it thus: "In many multilingual societies the choice of one language over another has the same signification as the selection among lexical alternates in linguistically homo-

genous societies." I have a feeling that the two situations do not have the same signification so far as their impact on the personality and cognition of the speaker is concerned. This capacity of switching codes provides an individual with a remarkable capacity and skill to adjust to different conditions as demanded by the situation to which she is exposed. It makes her attitudes flexible, which leads to an awareness of the presence of diversity in and around her environment; and not only that, she has skills to deal with such situations. The effect of learning more than one language on the cognition, personality, and achievement of the learner has been the subject of thorough enquiry, and several of them have concluded that the effect is beneficial (Srivastava 1976). Lambert (1967) comments that a bilingual child becomes suspicious of ethnocentrism which makes the child's mind receptive to the problems of other people. On the basis of several studies, Ben-Zeev (1976, 1977a, 1977b) has come to the conclusion that since bilingualism involves cognitive conflict and repeated interlingual interference, the bilingual person is forced to develop coping strategies conducive to cognitive development in order to meet the mutual interference created between two languages. Sankoff (1971) may or may not be right in her proposition that so far as the type of linguistic behavior of shifting or switching among the codes is concerned, the bilinguals do not differ qualitatively from the multilinguals; but I think in attitude and in adjustment capacity they do differ a lot.

The second difference, which is related to the first but refers more to the socialization process of the child, is

that in a multilingual setup a child is born with a built-in acceptance of the heterogenous nature of the environment that surrounds her in the form of different cultures, languages, customs, modes of dress, and the like. A monolingual child is overwhelmed by the flowing uniformity in and around him. Therefore, under monolingual conditions the approach to unification is always through the path of uniformity. But in a multilingual context unification is always, unless something is positively done to the contrary, through the preservation of diversity. Diversity may also be present in monolingual but multiethnic and multireligious societies. Since language happens to be the most important vehicle of communication, diversity, however, is more pronounced in multilingual societies, which incidentally also happen to be more multiethnic and multireligious than the monolingual ones. However, it all depends upon how the society handles this great opportunity thrown at its door. When language joins hand with politics and becomes a source for the development of narrow loyalties, where it becomes or is made to become an exclusive source and inspiration for protection and groupism, this built-in acceptance may also give way to extrinsic forces creating artificial barriers in the minds of men. Then again, it may also be allowed to grow in the form of natural inquisitiveness to know the heterogeneity prevailing in both immediate and distant environments surrounding the child. The slow but sure, subtle but effective process of educating the child about the diversity of culture and languages in India can be greatly facilitated with this built-in acceptance. In this context the psycho-educational implications become some of the most important factors in language plan-

ning and have to be so understood by policymakers. What is important is the orientation of values and the reinforcement of any value shift from the communal to the noncommunal.

Thirdly, the language of the environment becomes an important factor that aids the informal learning of other languages. In a dominantly monolingual country, absence of this factor creates difficulties in that languages can only be acquired through formal instruction at a later stage in life. In this context, the difference between learning a foreign language and a second language becomes important. For the former, the language being acquired is not a language of the environment, and there is also little opportunity for the use of that language. In second language learning, both these opportunities are present. It would be interesting to study whether for an Indian child the learning of native and second languages facilitate each other. Chickermane (1971) in his comparison of the two types of bilingualism on achievement found that those boys for whom the home language was different, but the school and environment languages were the same, achieved better than those whose home and environment languages were the same, but the school language different. However, this adverse effect was confined to the lower primary grades, and the deficiency was made up at the upper primary level.

The above differences purport to show not only the importance of psychological and educational factors, but also how the approach has to be essentially multilingual for language planning in a multilingual context. Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971) elaborate the process of language planning. Emphasiz-

ing the supraordination of political authority, that is, the government, they say that the authorization for planning comes from the politicians. However, these have to be guided on the one hand by the meta-linguistic factors like the social system, traditional and cultural values and customs, and by, on the other, the experts. The latter are asked to prepare a plan taking into account available resources and their potential use. I think that from the point of view of educationists and psychologists the multilingual approach is based on the following three aspects, which form the three lines of an equilateral triangle and which any political authority or body of experts can ignore only at the cost of the integrity of the country: (a) language loyalty, language identity, and psychological barriers between language groups; (b) language maintenance and development of a language for wider communication; and (c) social class factors.

Language loyalty emanates from the psychological process of identification, which is a very important part of the socialization process. Therefore, a child has a tendency to identify with her family, neighborhood, and peer group. This is a healthy process that makes the person identify a model for herself and then develop loyalty for the model. Language loyalty is initially born out of this process of identification, which gives rise to a sense of natural pride for her language, a sense of belonging and identity. This is a natural process, but it may be manipulated in undesirable directions under certain conditions. This loyalty gives rise to a sense of insecurity under conditions where there is actual or imagined feeling of imposition of one dominant language that

may, in the long run, altogether or partly eliminate one's language and culture; where learning the new language puts the learner at a disadvantage in getting employment, status, and wealth; and where language joins politics and is exploited for the development of regional leadership advocating only regional loyalty to safeguard the interests of a few. In this context, Das Gupta (1968, 19) points out that "one of these fundamental issues is related to the problem of the opposition between primordial group loyalty and the civic loyalty to the nation. Most new nations are based on a plurality of segmental groups. The natural tie of the people to their segmental groups is often valued more highly than their civil ties with the nation. This segmental attachment is sometimes referred to as primordial attachment to one's given or assumed-to-be-given order of social existence. These given orders of existence include religious community, language community, and other such communities based on congruities of faith, speech, blood, custom etc."

All these conditions, along with others either independently or in interaction, create a language barrier between language groups. For a bilingual, the second language group becomes a threat creating a feeling of alarm, insecurity, social uncertainty, and dissatisfaction.

Williams (1970b, 383) discusses the process that links speech and attitudes. These are (a) "Speech types serve as social identifiers, (b) these elicit stereotypes held by ourselves and other, (c) we tend to behave in accord with these stereotypes, and thus, (d) translate our attitudes into a social reality." This gives rise to all sorts of stereotypes

prejudicing the further learning of others' language. The several studies made by Lambert (1967) of stereotypes elicited by French-Canadians and English-Canadians on the basis of listening to speech samples of each other provide enough evidence in support of this conclusion. The study made by Gardner (Lambert 1967) shows that achievement in a language other than one's own is dependent not only on aptitude and intelligence, but also on sympathetic orientation held towards that language. Whereas the learning of the structure of a language was dependent upon the former, the use of language in communicational settings was dependent on the latter.

In a multilingual approach, every attempt has to be made by the society to maintain and develop not only the dominant languages but also the less dominant languages spoken by comparatively fewer people. This is a very delicate issue, and any wrong step can create a language barrier releasing forces of negative attitudes towards others' language and its speakers. Side by side it is necessary to develop a language for wider communication for interaction between speakers of different languages. Here, care has to be taken that a foreign language is not selected for wider communication, since such a choice will create interaction only between elites in the country. Therefore, the language has to be one of the languages of the multilingual country. However, the language of wider communication is not meant to replace any language or languages that have been used for smaller-zone communications. The natural choice for a language for wider communication will be one spoken by the highest percentage of people

in a country, since it is to be used for day-to-day communication.

Social class factors create a sense of barrier between the elite comprising the middle and the upper classes and the lower classes consisting mainly of the working class. The entire purpose of language planning (to bring social change in a desired direction) will be defeated if the lower classes become disadvantaged or deprived persons. If equal opportunities are not created, there will be generated in them a sense of inferiority and suppression, which may give rise to class conflicts. And language is an important source for creating unequal opportunities.

The roots of deprivation cut deeper and spread in broadly two directions, namely, economic and cultural. The life cycle may start with any one of the disadvantages like economic, educational, employment-related, and developmental ones, and one may lead to another in a cyclic manner (Williams 1970a). Plumer (1970) on the basis of his review concludes that poverty, a poor language learning environment, poor language, poor school performance, dropout, and unemployment are related in a cyclic manner, each capable of releasing a chain of reactions. Therefore, following them, it appears that the linguistic deprivation of deprived children creates unequal opportunities for them in comparison to the linguistic affluence of the elite class. This close relationship between language and class formation cannot be ignored by language planners, and educationists and psychologists have to play their roles.

The question of linguistic deprivation of deprived children is a controversial one. Generally, linguists (as, for example, Labov 1970) oppose the concept and psychologists (Deutsch et al. 1967; Hess and Shipman 1965; Jensen 1970) support it. The strong reaction of the linguists, particularly sociolinguists, will be evident from Labov's comment that "the notion of verbal deprivation is a part of the modern mythology of educational psychology, typical of the unfounded notions which tend to expand rapidly in our educational system" (Labov 1970, 154). Two opposing views known as "deficit" and "different" hypotheses have emerged about the language of the deprived. The argument of the former is that cumulative deficits are produced in the cognitive and language development of the deprived children, which result from the poor social and intellectual stimuli received by these children from their home environment. The "different" hypothesis emphasizes that language variations normally take place in a society as a result of social and ethnic factors. All these variations are, however, well developed and highly structured, and in comparison to the standard languages they are not substandard or deficit but different and nonstandard. Failure is mainly due to the fact that the schools, where middle-class culture prevails, stigmatize the children speaking these variations as backward and linguistically deficit.

We have to judge the two viewpoints from a larger perspective. It cannot be denied that the variations in a language as a result of social class differences are basically differences and not deficiencies in themselves. However, the language practiced in a school is the dominant language of the

region and is the source of employment, status, and wealth. The schools have been blamed for practicing middle-class (who generally speak or are more conversant with the standard or the regional language) language and culture. While stigmatization of a child for language variation has to be condemned, the schools cannot be blamed for using a language used mostly by the middle class. They are practicing a value and language use that offer greater opportunity in this highly technological, symbolical, sophisticated, and competitive society that we have built. In the words of Olim (1970, 214), "Society, therefore, is accelerating its need and demand for persons who have developed highly skilled and elaborate methods of processing information and who are able to manipulate the environment, not directly as in the factory work, but representationally by symbolic means--the means essential for coping with the conditions of an advanced technological civilization." It has been pointed out that middle-class use of language generally gives rise to an elaborative and universalistic order of meanings that transcend a given context, while that of the poor class generally generates particularistic orders of meaning that are closely tied to a given context and do not transcend it. It appears that for the fast-changing society, what is suited is universalistic, elaborative, and symbolic use of language. Therefore, we cannot leave the poor-class children at the level of the particular language they speak, but while maintaining their language and their cultural rootedness, a strategy has to be found to bring them to the mainstream of life in order to equalize their opportunities with the middle-class children. Cazden (1972, 311) has also argued for

"Coordinate education for cultural pluralism in which patterns of language form and use (and beliefs and values as well) in the child's home community are maintained and valued alongside the introduction of forms of behavior required in a technological society." The suggestion given above may give rise to the wrong impression that an attempt is being made to impose middle-class values. Far from it! Maintenance of less dominant languages and cultural plurality are highly desirable and such a policy has to be effectively pursued. Not only that: there should be bidirectional communication and intergroup transfer of values between the cultural groups, whether dominant or less dominant. However, I do decry the attempts on the part of some social scientists to make middle-class language and culture a taboo for the lower classes on the basis of an argument that the process of intercultural transfer will mean imposition of the culture and language of the powerful group on the less powerful group.

Taking all three aspects into consideration, language planning in a multilingual country should not in any case try to forge national identity on the basis of one language declared as the national language of the country. Kelman (1971) warns that any attempt to do so in a multilingual state will lead to disruptive rather than unifying consequences. At this stage, I would like to emphasize two points, first, the distinction between political and national integration (Das Gupta 1968) and, second, between official and national language (Garvin 1973). Das Gupta (1968, 21) defines political integration as "the minimal cohesion necessary for the coordination of political groups through insti-

tutionalized procedures of the political community. . . . This primary tie may or may not be reinforced by affective solidarity on the part of the community." Das Gupta makes a distinction between political/national integration in multilingual/multiethnic and monolingual/monoethnic countries and writes, "If, in England and France, sentimental solidarity preceded the foundation of the modern nation-state, in the multiethnic, multilingual, and multireligious new states the political development of the nation is likely to precede and is expected to promote national loyalty and cohesion."

Garvin (1973) makes a distinction between official and national languages and suggests that the latter is used in two senses. First, when used only in an emotionally neutral way, it refers to a particular language designed to serve the entire nation including all the regional and ethnic subdivisions. Second, however, it is more emotionally toned because it means that a national language is identified with the national symbol. Official language, however, requires official recognition by the government of one or more languages for specific purposes.

A multilingual approach, before introducing the concept of national identity, should first try to encourage the growth of smaller or subgroup identities, based on both sentimental and instrumental loyalties and both reinforcing each other. National identity can emerge later by establishing a functional link between the subgroup identities and then their link with the nation as a whole. These subgroups have to perceive the national system not only as protector of their identities, but also as one that is able to meet their needs.

This will increase the legitimacy of the nation in the eyes of these subgroups and will finally develop emotional solidarity between the subgroups and the national system. In this connection there comes the need for official recognition of a language or languages to serve the purpose of wider communication between the subgroups speaking different languages. Two aspects have to be taken into consideration. First, there may be more than one language of wider communication, say, one at the national level and one at each regional level of a nation. Secondly, the language for wider communication, whether at the national or at the regional level, should recognize the importance of small-zone communication existing between two or three small groups living in physical proximity (Pattanayak 1979).

By now it is clear that in a multilingual country citizens will have to study more than one language. On the basis of the perspective and principles presented above, I will discuss, first, the principles on which the national government selects languages for use in education and, second, the specific educational problems of mother-tongue teaching and medium of instruction and language load (which are the practical aspects of language planning). Both topics will be viewed in the Indian context.

SELECTION OF LANGUAGES FOR USE IN EDUCATION WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA

India is a multilingual and multiethnic country. Fifteen regional languages are recognized in the Eighth Schedule of

the Constitution. But 1,652 mother tongues are spoken in the country, some of which are yet to develop a writing system. Therefore, in selecting a language for use in education, a distinction has to be made between the mother tongue of a child and the recognized language of the region that is the source of employment and privilege. Therefore, the first consideration in selecting languages for education has to be the fact that while education has always to be through the mother tongue of the child, provision for switching over to the regional language for those who so wish has to be there for children for whom the mother tongue and the regional language are different.

Secondly, the language of wider communication for all the regions has to be selected. The obvious choice will be a regional language that is spoken by the largest number of people. Such a language has to be given official recognition as the official language of the Union. It is expected that in the scheme of national bilingualism this language will be a compulsory second language. In India, Hindi has been given this status since, according to the 1971 census, it is spoken by 38.04 percent of the population. The next language on the list, Bengali, is way behind with only 8.17 percent.

Thirdly, in order to appreciate India's rich linguistic and cultural heritage, one ought to learn one language besides Hindi and the language of the region. The children of the Hindi region should preferably learn a language of the Dravidian family in the interest of national integration and greater understanding of the cultural complex.

Fourthly, there has to be provision for learning of classical languages such as Sanskrit and Persian in order to insure one's rootedness in the cultural past.

Last, but not least, every child may learn one international language, preferably English in the case of India, for international interaction and also for linking their education with the rich cultural heritage of the outside world and for gaining perspective.

Every Indian citizen, of necessity, has to learn several languages. The Secondary Education Commission (1953, 69), recommending the need for inclusion in the curriculum of five distinct groups of languages, namely mother tongue, regional language, official language, classical languages, and English, remarked that "the course in languages will be rather heavy. It is unavoidable in a country like ours which has a multiplicity of languages and we should be prepared to pay this price for the wealth of our linguistic heritage."

It is evident that a child has to study several languages during his school education. In spite of the fact that the languages are introduced in stages, the general impression has gained ground that inclusion of so many languages in the school curriculum adds to the curricular load. This impression, however, is unfounded since it is impressionistic. Sometimes it is also an expression of ignorance of the ethos in which we live, and sometimes a deliberate slogan to push some language out of the curriculum in order to impose a monolingual model on a multilingual country. For some it is also a convenient cover to perpetuate elitist domination in order to safeguard individual interests. It is also born out

of ignorance of the role that language plays in education and other walks of life.

Srivastava et al. (1978) conducted an empirical investigation to find out whether learning of more than one language was felt to be a burden by the students, their parents, and teachers. The problem was studied in its totality. The questions concerned (a) the number of languages preferred to be learned, (b) advantages of learning several languages, (c) difficulties faced in the process, (d) difficulties faced in learning the four skills of the three languages taught, and (e) a comparative assessment of the difficulties faced in the three languages with those of the other subjects of the curriculum. The parents and teachers were also asked to indicate the difficulties faced by them in teaching the three languages. The results conclusively indicated that the inclusion of several languages in the curriculum was not considered to be a burden by the students, their parents, and teachers. In fact, there was a welcome acceptance of it. Of course, certain difficulties were indicated, but nevertheless there was motivation to learn languages. This sustained them even in the face of these difficulties.

Learning in itself can never be a load. It is a context-bound process. Environmental conditions like poor teaching/learning facilities and the psychological factors of motivation, attitudes, and incentives may all combine to decrease the coping process of the child to learning situations. What is needed is the solution of difficulties and not just removal of one or the other language from the curriculum.

The view that the mother tongue should be the medium of instruction for every child is based on sound pedagogic principles. This may be summed up in the words of a UNESCO (1953, 11) report: "Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar linguistic medium." However sound a theory might be, there is always a gap between theory and practice (Central Institute of Indian Languages 1977). Moreover, there are different ramifications of the problem which planners have to take note of, such as:

(a) There are many children for whom there is no difference between the home language and the regional language. For such children, the problem is relatively simple, and what is first needed is to improve the standard of mother-tongue teaching. With this end in view, the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL) has started a radio-cum-correspondence course for in-service training of mother-tongue teachers. More is needed.

(b) The problem of mother-tongue teaching has also to be viewed from the point of view of those children residing in a state other than their own. The 1971 census showed that in the largest Indian province, U.P., where Hindi and Urdu are the regional languages, there were, respectively, only 37.51 percent and 32.40 percent Hindi and Urdu speakers. The rest were speakers of other languages. There is a strong likelihood that such children will forget their mother tongue

except for a little of the spoken skills. For such children, special reading materials taking into account the age of the children and the skills already acquired at home have to be prepared. The CIIL has been preparing such books, divided into four levels, emphasizing reading and writing skills and the appropriate style in varying social contexts.

(c) Last but not least is the problem of poor children and children of minority groups in whose cases there is a wide difference between the home language, which is their mother tongue, and the language of the school, which is also the language of the region. The problem for such children has already been discussed, and it has been pointed out that a strategy is needed to bring them gradually into the mainstream of regional languages. The CIIL has developed a bilingual transfer model (Pattanayak 1975a, 1975b, 1975c) consisting of the following stages:

Phase I: Both the home and the school language will be taught as language subjects for an equal number of hours. However, while the school language will be oral (with guidelines for the teachers), there will be a primer in the home language with repetitions in the school language. For the teaching of nonlanguage subjects, the home language will be used 60 percent of the time and the school language 40 percent.

Phase II: Both languages will be used for an equal number of hours as language subjects again. While a new primer for the school language will be introduced, the home language will have primer II. Other features may be similar to Phase I except that more and more of the school language will be used for instruction and explanation.

Phase III: Primer III for the home language and primer II for the school language will be introduced. For other subjects like arithmetic, science, and social studies, textbooks will now be introduced in the school language. Both languages have to be used for instruction and explanation, but their distribution will be 40 percent for the home language and 60 percent for the school language. It is expected that at the end of this phase, the children will follow the regular course given through the medium of the school language without difficulty. Two more languages that have to be introduced under the three-language formula will be introduced at the post-primary level.

I feel that in order to introduce the child to the school language early, the bilingual transfer model has to have four phases, beginning with a preparatory phase in the nursery and the pre-primary schools. This will prepare the child for the first phase according to the transfer model. This I suggest because in developing the cognitive style of the child, the preschool experience plays a very important part.

In line with the above model, the institute has selected tribal languages because the problem is most acute there. Initially, forty tribal languages have been selected for the preparation of a phonetic reader, a grammar, a trilingual dictionary, a volume of folklore, and an adult reader. A few of these languages have been chosen for bilingual schooling experiments.

A few studies have reported that even if the mother tongue is not the medium of instruction, there is no detrimental effect on the child. I have in mind particularly the total

and partial immersion studies by Lambert and his associates (Barik and Swain 1975, 1976a, 1976b; Lambert and Tucker 1972). Lambert and Tucker (1972, 16) even lay down the principle that "in any community where there is a serious widespread desire or need for a bilingual or a multilingual citizenry, priority for early schooling should be given to the language or languages least likely to be developed otherwise, that is, the languages most likely to be neglected." These conclusions may be important for the Canadian situation, where there is a problem between two languages only. But its application to developing countries, particularly India, where there are several languages with a dominating colonial language (elitist language), is limited. I would therefore accept this conclusion with reservations. I take this study only as a support for bilingual education. A closer analysis would indicate three things: first, that the findings of the several studies are highly contradictory and have failed to arrive at conclusive answers to the basic questions raised by immersion-type studies (Paulston 1975); second, that the achievement of the total or the immersion sample only equalled but rarely exceeded the achievement of the mother-tongue group; and third, and the more important point, that performance has been recorded under the best of conditions. The teachers were good and had at their disposal good teaching materials and a knowledge of improved teaching methods. Will a group of poor children, taught through another medium, achieve equally well in comparison to their mother-tongue-medium compatriots if both of them are exposed to the same poor conditions of teaching to which they are normally exposed? While explaining the contradictory find-

ings of similar programs conducted in Mexico, Canada, and California, Paulston (1975, 9) points out that the "social class of the students was the one overruling factor. In every single study where monolingual children did as well as or better in L2 instruction than did native speakers, those children came from upper or middle class homes."

In one of my studies (Srivastava and Khatoon 1980) the achievement, mental ability, and creativity of two groups of students were compared, one studying through the English medium and the other through the Kannada medium. Surprisingly enough, the English-medium students were found to perform significantly better on all measures. However, when two groups who come from the same school with a high reputation were compared, no significant difference was found in any of the comparisons made except at the 0.05 level of significance for the elaboration dimension of the nonverbal test of creativity. Not only that, when influence of intelligence was controlled, the significant difference between the two groups of the total sample disappeared. This study concluded that the all-round better performance of English-medium students can be attributed to their intelligence since the English-medium schools were very selective in the admission of students and also to school-related variables like teaching methods, materials, aids used for teaching, and the general school climate. It therefore appears that medium of instruction in itself is not the causal independent variable but just an intervening variable. The causal variables may be school-related variables and the quality and social class of students (see also Paulston 1975). Does it not show that the

conditions for mother-tongue teaching are far from desirable, although in theory language planners accept and emphasize the principle of teaching through the mother tongue?

Language planning for a multilingual situation is a complex, delicate, and difficult exercise, and all aspects of its ethos have to be appreciated. While monolingual countries just cannot afford to be content with the standardization and cultivation of language, multilingual countries just cannot afford only to do so in the name of language planning. For them it is a continuous struggle and a self-correcting exercise. The motto of language planning in a multilingual context has to be unity in diversity and not unity in uniformity.

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THE USE OF LAW IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Alain Prujiner

Language planning is a recent concept implying the intervention of the state and the use of legal ruling in its different forms: constitutions, acts, regulations, judgments, and the like. This newness is a good reason for the absence of a specific legal theory in this field, but it is not the only one. In fact, language planning covers so broad a field, involving so many aspects of law, that it is impossible to study it within the traditional classifications of lawyers such as private law/public law/criminal law. One must consider at the same time (1) constitutional dispositions organizing the structure of the state, (2) rules about the form of public or private contracts, (3) ministry ordinances about the medium of instruction, (4) regulations concerning the mass media, and so on. A real legal jam in terms of traditional jurisprudence!

I don't intend to give a totally new approach, integrating all the legal aspects of language planning in a new general theory. I do not even know if such a thing could be very interesting or useful, in spite of the academic and aesthetic pleasure it could offer. Why? Because laws are only one of the many ways to implement a linguistic policy, and language

planning is a very narrow field of legal involvement. The elaboration of an integrative scheme on such a border does not seem really necessary to me.

Does that mean that I must confine myself to a purely descriptive work on this matter? I do not think so. Such a technical description would only bore everybody, language planners as well as lawyers. What could be of some interest to everybody may be to clarify some connections between language, law, state, and minority so that we will be able to have at our disposal some elements to plan a typology.

LANGUAGE, LAW, STATE, AND MINORITY

Language, Law, and State

A human organization cannot exist without some means of communication, without a language (at least). And this is true for any state organization. It is even obvious that the use of a language at the state level has a lot of implications on the language itself, in terms of linguistic development. In that way, the very existence of a state using a given language is a fundamental datum in language corpus planning, even if it is a purely unilingual state with a purely unilingual population (which is often not the case). Therefore the existence of a state implies the existence of a legal corpus using its language. As words and phrases become juridical tools, specifically defined by judgments or regulations in a very long and precise process, the relations be-

tween language and law are not simple. Just look at the implications of each part of many legal definitions. No wonder the lawyers are always the most conservative users of language in a society! But I do not want to treat now the problem of the language of law--no matter how interesting it may be. I shall confine myself to the law of languages.

In this way, state and law need at least a language. In the few situations where the population concerned is unilingual, the only problem of language planning that can arise is related to the corpus language planning, to use Kloss's terminology. We may find there is a first kind of legal involvement in language planning with the use of some regulations to implement, for instance, a new terminology.

The nature and the degree of the state action may be of very different kinds. Let me give some examples. In France and some other countries there is an official "Académie" whose task is to "protect" the language. In such cases, the state intervention in corpus planning is limited to the creation of the institution and the financing of its activities. Law does not really intervene here. It is only by the social influence of the Académie that the norms it sets eventually come to be accepted by the population. A different situation is created when the state uses compulsory means to implement a new script or terminology. France again has created--more recently--an "Haut Commissariat de la langue française" whose function (among others) is to produce a new French terminology in new technical fields, a duty the Académie was unable to achieve. But the new terms, after being approved by the government and published in the Journal Officiel, must be

used in all official writings such as regulations and contracts with the administration. Not to use them leads to a legal sanction, such as the nullity of the faulty act.

Many means could be used in such a situation. For example, you can oblige everybody writing official papers in a given ministry to use only a given word to designate something or somebody (let us say "person" instead of "man") by a ministry order. If someone does not comply, he is punishable by an administrative sanction. You can extend such an order to everybody dealing with the ministry, for contacts or anything else. In that case, you need another, stronger legal medium like a regulation. The sanction can no longer be merely of an administrative nature. It could be economical, as when a project is dismissed for not conforming to the regulation. You can go further and try to order every written paper published in the country to use the new term instead of the old. If newspapers and printers are relatively independent from the state, you may have to find a new sanction, as the menace of seizure or fines, provided by an act of parliament.

The last example shows that the nature and degree of legal compulsion may vary with the political and legal strength of the state. If the whole printing industry is controlled by the state itself, a ministry order is enough to establish a new terminology in written language. If printers are free but economically dependent on the state, the fear of losing money would be enough for them to adopt the new terminology. In that sense, an administrative language planning institution will need more legal powers if the state of which it is

a part has a limited control of the society. This paradoxical result can be easily explained: language planning is legally easier in a society characterized by intensive state planning in other spheres.

Another factor must be kept in mind: the extension of the use of law is in fact related to the extension of language planning itself. So there are a few hundred words concerned in France today, but the whole language and its script were involved in Turkey during the Atatürk era.

Therefore the use of law in language planning is not limited to the problems of linguistic minorities.

State, Law, and Minority

Few states are unilingual with no linguistic minority. Most states must take into account the existence of different linguistic communities within their population. This diversity can be only marginal, with few legal or political implications, but it can also be fundamentally related to the structure of the state itself.

To reach a good understanding of the relations involved, we must go back to the ideology of nationalism which has been the base of the states for about two centuries now. From the beginning, a common language has been perceived as a distinctive component of every nation. In that way, the goal of creating a nation-state may result in a kind of "state planning" by languages. Its best illustration can be found in the restructuring of European states after the First World War. And we do not have to confine ourselves to independent

states; the application of Stalin's approach in the U.S.S.R. gave similar results--with one big difference: the federal link. In India, it seems to me that the experience of linguistic states is related to this approach, even if I know that the concept of nation (or nationality) is as disputed there as in Canada. Some people think that there is only one Canadian nation (with two founding peoples) and others that there are, at least, two nations--and even a federalist party changed (fifteen years ago) the name of the Quebec legislature to National Assembly. I do not intend to take a stand on this difficult matter in India today. I just want to say that it appears to me, from the history of the creation of Andhra Pradesh and later the other states, that the components of the nation-state approach were not absent there (and seem not to have disappeared today). This debate has no direct legal results in terms of language planning, but many indirect consequences.

The structure of the social, political, and legal powers as revealed by constitutions and treaties must be taken into account (and even questioned) by the theoreticians of language planning. It seems obvious to me that one cannot perceive the legal background as a simple matter of fact but must envision it as the result of a political struggle between the linguistic groups (among other groups whose identification is based on class, religion, race, and the like). So the political and constitutional results may be very different, each involving an equilibrium stemming from historical and social background.

In legal terms, this means that the first duty in language

planning is to define the exact division of the legal powers involved in the process, so that the specific aims be made to fit with this division or the division modified to be compatible with the aims. In doing so, it is necessary to go back into the political field. One fundamental question will always be at the heart of the choices: is it possible to grant linguistic safety to a minority in allowing it legal power over language matters, or is it better to keep those matters centralized so that they remain under the control of the majority? The answer depends on the specific political situation but is not without effect on language planning itself. It is one thing to organize some linguistic development for a given minority from a centralized government--by allowing, for example, some broadcasting in their language or the teaching of the mother tongue in the schools--but something quite different to give this minority the legal power to do its own language planning. One can imagine any intermediate step between complete delegation of power and total centralization. At one extreme we find the situation of peoples like the Bretons or Alsations in France, at the other, the linguistic states of India or Quebec in Canada.

Legal implication is very different in one case and in the other. With centralized language planning (we could try to define it as language planning controlled by a larger group than the one that is concerned) the legal aspects would be obviously linguistic, that is, contain regulations about the use of a given language in a given situation. On the contrary, at first glance, the decentralized language planning may not appear concerned with linguistic matters. Instead of

language itself, it may deal, for instance, only with the constitutional powers relative to education or the mass media. The danger is that one might fail to perceive this second way as a part of the language planning process.

It must also be kept in mind that these two legal ways of planning that we have identified do not always exclude each other. Decentralization seems to require that certain conditions be fulfilled in terms of demography (the minority must be large enough to support the adequate organization) and geography (it seems better that the minority be concentrated in a specific territory, although historic examples of this system applied to mixed minorities do exist). But the result of decentralization is always the creation of a new center, which must itself use a centralized legal approach. In fact, the very same problem may appear again. That is to say that the new majority must face the existence of some other minorities, often parts of neighboring linguistic groups. Must the decentralization process go on again? The demographic limitation often forbids it, or some other political reason does.

These results are easily seen in Europe, where each country created after the First World War (Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia) included linguistic minorities, even important ones, sometimes from neighboring countries, or already part of the former majority (German-speaking in Czechoslovakia). They are obvious, too, in Quebec, where the French majority must deal with an important English minority (which perceives itself more as a part of the English majority of Canada) and Amerindians. In India,

each linguistic state includes some minorities whose language is often officially spoken in one or many other states, though not always, for example, Urdu.

In short, even if in some circumstances the centralized and decentralized ways of planning may be perceived as a matter of choice, in many cases they are only two different levels of perception of the whole process.

TOWARDS A TYPOLOGY

It is possible to summarize the preceding remarks by distinguishing three kinds of laws that may intervene in a process of language planning: (1) Laws affecting the use of some components (like words or script) of a given language in given circumstances (corpus planning laws); (2) laws affecting the use of a given language in given circumstances (status planning laws); and (3) laws granting the power to enact the two preceding kinds of law (laws granting legal ability to plan language(s)).

Corpus Planning Laws

A language is a result of a social consensus, resulting from a very long evolution. To tamper with such a consensus by regulations is difficult, even dangerous if the state is unable to implement its decisions. This is why it always seems better not to use laws in corpus planning when it is not necessary. But sometimes, it is. In that case, a kind

of social consensus must be reached before enacting any regulation. (The difficulties in implementing the new Bahasa spelling in Indonesia offer a good example of what happens if this is not done carefully.) This is the reason why institutions in charge of modernization or normalization normally work through many committees, attempting to produce a terminology that can be easily integrated in the linguistic social consensus.

I have already mentioned the diverse kinds of legal sanctions available here, but I must now emphasize that it seems that legal sanctions can only be useful in helping to reach a social and linguistic consensus, otherwise they are useless. Logiciel was widely used by French-speaking computer users instead of "software" before any legal obligation. Conversely, in spite of the legal coercion, the French official equivalent of "bulldozer" has never been accepted. (I think it is something like bouteur or boutoir.) It appears only in official papers and then requires some explanation.

In fact, it appears that cases of legal involvement are very few. Most are found in the field of normalization where legal definition of technical terms answers an economic need. In this case, the sanction is motivated by technical rather than linguistic consideration (to avoid fraud, malpractices, etc). Another limitation in the use of laws or strict regulations in the field of new technologies is the relative rigidity of the result of the legal process. When new developments in technologies produce shifts in the meaning of technical terms, it can be annoying to be trapped in a legal definition, the change of which may require many years.

But some examples about the quality of the language may be found, principally to implement a new terminology to replace an imported one (cf. Israel, France, Quebec, Malaysia, Philippines). In that case, it is often an obligation limited to the state agencies aimed at creating such a driving force that the impact would be broader.

Status Planning Laws

In the area of status planning laws, there is a broad diversity of possible legal intervention. In order to give an idea of that diversity, I will try to distinguish between three fields related to the state: (1) activities inside the state, or the language of the state; (2) education; and (3) activities outside the state.

When I speak of state activities, it must be clear that I refer to activities other than language planning. In fact, I refer only to the traditional sphere of state activity in Western countries, which is the field of public law.

Language of the State

As I have said before, any state needs at least one language. Prior to any voluntary language planning, the mere use of a given language by a state has a tremendous effect upon the corpus and the status of this language. That is why the creation of such a state (independent or in a federation or union) can be perceived as a part of a language planning process. But as I have said, too, even a state conceived to

answer the linguistic needs of a group will surely be obliged to take into account the presence of other linguistic groups. In fact, the great majority of the existing states in the world must face the problem of multilingual populations. The decisions to integrate or not some of the languages used in the country at the state level is obviously political. But it must also be part of our thinking about language planning. Of course, the development of a given language (status and corpus) would be favored if it is used at a state level. But what does "used at a state level" mean? There may be very different kinds of situations. I shall now try to identify some of the legal fields involved.

Official language. This is the upper level of legal implication and the most prestigious. It allows a language to become a language of the law. Often it implies not only that the constitution, the bills, the acts, and the regulations must be written in this given language but also that the debates in parliament may be carried out in this language. From the legal point of view, there is always a problem when there is more than one official language because of the need for uniformity in legal statements.

But that is a technical problem that lawyers can face with some legal guidelines giving more authority to one language in case of divergence. From a practical point of view, there seems to be a limitation on the number of languages that can be used officially. The cost of translation, which increases by geometric progression, rapidly becomes forbidding. Finally, from the political point of view, it is surely always a very sensitive issue.

Judicial language. By judicial languages I mean the language used in the courts of law at any step of the judicial process. At first sight, it would seem evident that any official language has authority to be a judicial language. But it sometimes happens that an official language is not used in the courts, in fact depriving the speakers of this language of the use of their mother tongue (French in Canada outside Quebec, Pilipino (Filipino) in most Philippines courts, Malay in the Supreme Court of Malaysia). Such a situation often denotes a transitory period because of the difficulties of implementing a new official language, or the secret hope that a language will lose its official status soon.

On the other hand, courts must face the use of languages spoken in the country but not recognized as official ones. It is a judicial right, at least in criminal matters, to have a fair defense. That implies the possibility to understand the charges and to be understood by the judges. To that extent, the use of non-official languages is allowed in courts, directly or indirectly, with translation. About the cost of the translation, a difference is usually made between foreign languages and local ones: in the former case, costs must be paid by the person concerned; in the latter, it is assumed by the court itself (e.g., Philippines). Finally, we must notice that the use of an unofficial language in court is always restricted to the hearing and never found in the judgment.

Administrative language. A distinctive feature of a state is its public service, employing a lot of people in many dif-

ferent tasks, from the army to social welfare services. The language used in such activities, even if it is only internally, is of great significance in language planning. There is no necessary connection between official and administrative languages (other than that an administrative language must usually be official). For instance, in Canada, French was not an administrative language at the federal level during a long period, and in Quebec English is no longer an administrative language. The distinction is also made clearly in the United Nations, where there are more official languages than working languages.

The use of a given language inside an administration has a broad impact on the corpus and the status of this language, and this explains why the speakers of an official language usually try to have it used as an administrative language also. But the factors that drastically limit the number of languages that can be recognized as official have a still deeper impact here as more clearly people and a greater volume of documentation are concerned. Technically and legally, it is relatively easy to conceive a bilingual organization, that is, an administration including different monolingual units supervised by bilingual agents. But the difficulties increase greatly with the inclusion of a third language, and it seems extremely difficult to use more than three languages without affecting the flow of communication and the efficiency of such a state administration. In other words, it is easier to give a language an official status than to use it for administrative purposes. There are many factors to be considered here. One of them is the impact on

the recruitment and promotion of civil servants. Thus, English-speaking people reacted strongly to a few measures aiming at a more frequent use of French in the Canadian federal civil service because they perceived this measure as a threat to their jobs or promotions. I think some similar motives could be found in the struggle of people from Tamil Nadu for the use of English rather than Hindi in the civil service of India.

Public relations language. The public administration is not an isolated institution, and one of its duties is to keep contact with the whole society. The nature of this contact may vary greatly according to the type of work and workers considered, from post office employees to policemen, from social workers to tax collectors. Such people are a link between the administration and the general population, and it may be advisable or even necessary to adapt this contact to the linguistic reality. It is not so difficult to organize such a thing--theoretically. It requires some bilingual state agents, able to work in the language of the administration and to act as translators for those people who need translation. Such an idea was behind the concept of bilingual districts in Canada.

If the state does not choose this solution, the linguistic minorities will have to become bilingual. In a sense, we have then to choose between bilingualism in some administrative posts and bilingualism for the whole population of a given minority. In fact, that is a political choice, once again, and one in which legal considerations do not intervene much. The main possibility for a legal involvement here

would be the granting of a right for a given group to communicate in its own language with some (or all) public offices within a given area. This would also require definition of the linguistic ability asked from the concerned public servants.

In fact, there are not many difficulties in jurisprudence concerning the language of the state. Public law can easily integrate new linguistic requirements. The limitations here are mainly practical, economic, or political, not legal. But one specific legal difficulty is that of divergences in the interpretation of legislation written in two or more languages. It is difficult to formulate exactly the same act in different languages because of the lack of equivalence between the legal terminologies involved. For example, it is easy to find out that most of the Canadian federal legislation has been written first in English, then translated into French, and that the acts of the Quebec legislature are written in French first, then translated into English. None of the translated versions is a model of legal writing, to say the least.

Language of Education

The state has intervened in education only relatively recently. Before the last century, education was mainly a private duty attended to by private organizations, mostly religious orders. But the generalized recognition of everybody's right to a free education and of the responsibility of the state in these matters has completely changed the situa-

tion. It does not mean that the state was not involved previously in the choice of the language of instruction. The long struggle of the kings of France against the use of Latin in the University of Paris towards the end of the Middle Ages is famous. But that was a limited intervention, principally related to political circumstances. In the same period, the same kings were not preoccupied by the medium of education in Brittany or Gascony, as the French president may be today.

In fact, educational policy is seen by many as the most important aspect of any attempt at language planning. I am not quite sure that I agree with this popular point of view, but one thing is unquestionable: it is impossible to conceive an educational system without a language policy explicit or not. As in the case of state activities, learning requires the use of at least one language, and the consequences of the use of a language as a medium of instruction are as important as its use in state activities--and quite similar in nature. I will not discuss here the many dimensions of language policies in education (historical, demographic, sociological, political), but I must mention one aspect of a quasijuridical nature: the right of an education in one's mother tongue, which was asserted by the United Nations.

Legal techniques in that field vary according to the type of school system and the linguistic policies. To give an insight into those legal techniques, I must first establish some distinctions.

In a unilingual system (a school system with only one language as medium of instruction) it is possible to allow the teaching of different tongues, with or without academic sanc-

tion, given that some prior conditions such as a sufficient number of pupils or the availability of teachers are fulfilled. Such appears to be the case in France for Breton, Basque, or Flemish. Legally, it is a part of administrative law often submitted to administrative discretion, but it may confer some kind of a right to the member of a linguistic minority.¹

In a multilingual system, it is necessary to distinguish between the medium(s) of instruction and the teaching of languages. In that case, regulations are necessary to determine who will be taught what, in what language, and at what moment of the curriculum. But the juridical nature of the regulations can vary greatly.

Their principles could even be found in the constitution or adopted by an act of parliament. It is relatively easy to deal with these linguistic rights in the context of a centralized organization but much more complicated in a decentralized one. Just an example: in Quebec, the first level of administrative power in education pertains to local school boards, locally elected and legally independent from provincial administration. Some of these school boards have established two systems of education, one in French and one in English. In these municipalities, the parents had the customary right to choose the language of instruction of their children. In 1969, the school board of St. Leonard, a city near Montreal with a mixed population (mostly French but with a minority of Italians), decided to withdraw its English section so that everybody would be obliged to have their children educated in French. Some Italian parents asked for

an injunction against this decision, but they were dismissed in first instance (superior court) by a judge who esteemed that the school board decision (independently of its quality or opportunity) was within its legal competence.² The provincial government, in disagreement with the position of the school board, had no choice but to have an act adopted by the National Assembly, providing the parents with a legal right to choose the language of instruction of their children.³ With this new law, the parents were able to oblige a school board to offer (under certain conditions) such a choice with judicial protection. The government lost the following election mainly because of that law--but this is another story.

One lesson we must derive from that example is that there are two major legal ways of implementing a linguistic policy in the educational field: direct orders given by the authority competent in schools and teaching matters (with direct administrative sanctions) or rights granted to the parents (or children) enabling them to obtain satisfaction from schools or teachers, under the threat of judicial sanctions. Juridical problems arise when both ways are used but are not completely compatible.

Another dimension that cannot be forgotten here is the importance in that particular field of the laws attributing competence to implement languages policies (see below). The control of its own school system has always been a strong demand of any linguistic community. And this could produce many other legal difficulties concerning, for example, the limits of the right of access to a particular school system.

Since 1970 in Quebec, there has been a lot of research to find a politically acceptable criterion to restrict the access to English schools that would be legally and administratively workable. The first criterion adopted in 1974 was the child's mother tongue or his ability in English as verified by a test.⁴ The only results were many disputes between English school boards and the Ministry of Education about the validity of the tests and the sudden creation of many English-speaking kindergartens. In 1977, a new criterion was enacted: that at least one parent has been educated in English in Quebec.⁵ This last criterion (set aside its political content) is surely legally and administratively more efficient and offers fewer possibilities of manipulation. This is an important aspect in a policy granting rights: rights must be clearly defined, which is not always easy from a legal point of view.

Language Outside the State

In the preceding sections we have seen that every state is obliged to adopt a linguistic policy, explicitly or implicitly. I will now turn to state intervention in the fields where it is not obliged to intervene. Here we have many potential areas: mass media, labor market, advertising, and the like. I will try to summarize the state interventions here by distinguishing between three kinds of approaches: (1) incitements, (2) the use of some pre-existing controls, and (3) the creation of new legal obligations.

Incitements. The state can develop a persuasive approach, using its prestige and all its means to promote the use of a given language, without applying any legal sanction. We can see this kind of discreet but firm intervention in Indonesia in favor of Bahasa Indonesia or, less discreetly, in Singapore for the use of Mandarin by the Chinese people. I think it is an important aspect of language planning but less relevant for a lawyer.

Linguistic use of pre-existent state controls. A further legal step is taken when state controls that were not designed for that purpose are used in language policy matters. Sometimes the original goal of state intervention is close to the language problem at hand, so the shift seems quite natural. For instance, the consumer's protection naturally implies that goods labels or sales contracts must be written in a language understood by the majority. But as state controls are often weak in that field in many countries, the results are limited. A stronger control usually exists for radio and TV broadcasting (for technical reasons, among others) so that the states can easily determine the programming language or languages. Of course, we find no legal problems when the whole broadcasting system is directly controlled by the state. In that case, administrative decisions suffice to establish which language or languages are permitted on the waves (see France with a few programs in regional languages or immigrant languages). But even where private broadcasting exists, it often has to respect some language restrictions. In Canada, with few exceptions, a station must be either English-speaking or French-speaking, and the pro-

portion of stations in each category is determined by the C.R.T.C. This federal institution tries to introduce more bilingualism in accordance with the federal government's policy, promoting French stations in the West and English ones in Quebec. And this is how a major conflict arose between the Ottawa and Quebec governments, a war judicially lost by Quebec before the Supreme Court.

Finally there are cases where the original goal of the state's intervention has nothing to do with language problems but has created a means of control that can be used later to implement language policies. Thus in Singapore with taxi permits: the state intends (in two years) to verify the linguistic abilities of Chinese taxi drivers in Mandarin before issuing them permits. We witness then the creation of an almost entirely new legal obligation.

New legal obligations. Once again, the state's intervention may appear in many different forms. Let us underline here only the distinction between the creation of civil obligations and that of penal offenses.

By civil obligation I mean any obligation carrying a sanction limited to the existence or impact of the faulty act (the act itself, not the author of the act, is sanctioned).

Civil obligations are widely used to plan written language: a kind of new legal form for the validity of contracts or other deeds, as work contracts, collective agreements, sales on deferred terms and so forth. It is possible to limit their legal existence to these deeds that are written in a given language. But if the sanction appears a strong

one, its outcome is not easy to accept. What are the exact consequences of such a nullity for a worker or a buyer: Who can invoke it? Where? When? There is a lot of jurisprudence about what is called relative nullity, which can be of some help if judges interpret the new obligation as a protection for the worker or the buyer. But if they interpret it rather as a general obligation, the sanction then will be absolute nullity, which can be very damaging for both parties. Sometimes lawmakers try to prevent some of the difficulties, but the effects of any kind of nullity create unexpected problems.

Consequences of penal offenses are more predictable--jail terms or fines are specified--but what is more difficult is to delimit the offense itself and how to use the creation of new offenses. Normally, they are restricted to the use of written language in definite circumstances such as advertising. The process of the "francization" of enterprises in Quebec or "flemishization" in Belgium give good examples of such policies applied on a large scale. Many technical legal problems may arise, but they have often been provided for in the act itself (see Charter of the French language).⁶ Another legal difficulty may be the divergences between the results of such a policy and the protection of human rights, which usually prevents any undue discrimination on a language basis. The use of criminal sanctions is surely the most extreme juridical step that can be used to implement a language policy.

Laws Granting Legal Ability to Plan Languages

The determination of who can plan must not be ignored in language planning, as we have seen before. Two major kinds of laws may be distinguished here: those related to the power of enacting a linguistic policy and those limited to the implementation of a given linguistic policy.

Laws Granting Power to Enact Linguistic Policy

The power to decide on a language policy is mainly a state's privilege, even if some private initiative can be found, particularly in corpus planning. This power even appears as a very important part of statehood as such. One of the most important motivations in the struggle to create new states has always been the control of their language development by linguistic communities. But this does not always lead to the creation of new independent states based on a nation-state approach. We find, too, a lot of examples showing, inside independent states including two or more linguistic communities, a distribution of state powers meant to give each community (or some of them) some means of control over their language policy. This would be implicit in a federal system like Canada (restricted to the case of Quebec) or very explicit in a federation like the U.S.S.R. or a quasifederal system like India. The differences between Canada and India show us the importance of constitutional analysis for the understanding of language policy. In Canada, the provinces are part of the constitution, and their

legal powers (exclusive like education or shared like taxation) cannot be modified without their consent. The federal parliament has no constitutional preeminence over the provinces. Therefore the legal position of the Quebec government in its "francization" policy is very strong, unless it directly attacks the Canadian constitution (B.N.A. Act) itself. (See the Supreme Court decision about the official languages.⁷) At first sight, the situation seems identical in India, if we consider only the exclusive powers of the states in education matters. And it may give quite similar results, as is shown by the resistance of Tamil Nadu to the three-language formula in education. But the Indian States seem to be legally-constitutionally under the control of the center, which has created them and can modify their legal powers. That is why some people refuse to consider India as a federation. So the center in India has a lot more legal means of intervention than the Canadian federal government. Let us leave aside the political aspect of such interventions. How can we integrate this in our analysis? We must first establish which legal powers a linguistic community could use (in administration, education, mass media, etc.) and then ask ourselves how it is possible to modify these legal powers. In studying this last point, it is important to know if the existing situation can or cannot be changed without the consent of the linguistic community concerned.

Laws Granting Power to Implement Linguistic Policy

Whatever the result of the previous operation, finally there is a state policy-making institution which adopts a

given position about languages (usually parliament or another sovereign institution). The result may be only customary or expressed by some very general dispositions in the constitution or by some fundamental act. In that case, all the state's agencies are responsible, each in its own field, for the implementation of the linguistic policy. It may happen that a pre-existing institution is given a special responsibility regarding a specific linguistic program (in Canada, for instance, the Treasury Board for implementing bilingualism in public administration and the secretary of state for promoting bilingualism across the country). But when there is a complete and integrated linguistic policy, the state may find it necessary to create a new institution (at least) in charge of the implementation.

Examples are readily available, from the Central Institute of Indian Languages to the Office de la langue française in Quebec, from Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka in Malaysia to the Institute of National Language in the Philippines.

Of course, the functions and the legal powers of such institutions are extremely variable. They may cover a more or less broad field of the language policy, dealing only with the corpus aspects or including some status ones, limited to education or extended to the mass media or the whole economic activity. Their action may be restricted to giving advice or include complete legal control over corporations or schools. They may be more or less dependent on political power.

As one can see, this last category offers in itself a large opportunity to build a specific typology that could be interesting and useful, too.

This first attempt in the direction of building a general typology of the uses of law in language planning shows perfectly many difficulties involved in such a process. They are related to the ambiguity of the concepts as well as the complexity of the means. I must state that the typology itself has been conceived without reference to the aims of a language planning policy, a necessity in my view to arrive at a truly general point of view. If such a general typology is issued, including all aspects of law involved in any kind of language planning, it will be easier afterwards to build the specific set useful in a given situation. But there is still plenty of work to do in that regard.

NOTES

1. Loi "Deixonne." Loi du 11/01/1951, no. 51-46.
2. Pérusse et Papa v. Commissaires d'école de Saint-Léonard de Port-Maurice (1970) C.S. 181; (1970), C.A. 324.
3. An Act to promote the use of French, S.Q. 1969 c. 9.
4. Official Language Act, S.Q. 1974, c. 6 s. 41.42.43.
5. Charter of the French Language, S.Q. 1977, c. 5 s. 73.
6. Idem, s. 205-208.
7. Blaikie v. Attorney General of Quebec, Supreme Court of Canada--December 13, 1979 (1979) 30 N.R. 225.

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CITY PLANNING AND LANGUAGE PLANNING

Joan Rubin

The economic planning model has several features that are very important to the theory and practice of language planning. In the initial work on language planning theory carried out in 1968-69 at the East-West Center in Hawaii by J. Das Gupta, J.A. Fishman, B.H. Jernudd, and J. Rubin, the economic planning model was very influential. In fact, this dependence on the economic planning model is very much in evidence in the theoretical section of the volume, Can Language Be Planned? (Rubin and Jernudd 1971). The volume contains papers from a conference held in Hawaii in 1969. More recently, some of the features of this model have been subject to considerable criticism by city and other social planners. In this paper, we will describe some of the features of the economic planning model that have been criticized and consider whether these criticisms also apply to the theory and practice of language planning.

Allison (1971) calls the model used by economic planners (and in fact by all planners) the rational model. Allison details his view of some of the characteristics of this model. First of all, in the model it is the planner who establishes a plan which includes the following steps (though not necessarily in sequence): establishment of goals, consid-

eration of options for implementation, consideration of the consequences for each option, and choice of a set of options and consequences made in order to maximize goals. The model assumes that the nation or government is the sole agent making these decisions. That is to say, there is one agent who has one set of specified goals, one set of perceived options, and a single estimate of the consequences that follow from each alternative. Another feature of this model is the assumption that choice is made at one time from among all the alternative outcomes rather than, for example, through a series of political choices. It is assumed that it is possible and normal to consider all the alternatives at any one time and to select the very best one. Thus, rational means that the goals and specific objectives of the agent are translated into a preference function which represents the value or utility of alternative sets of consequences. Finally, the rational model suggests that it is possible to rank-order each set of possible consequences.

In the 1970s, city and social planners tried to apply the rational model to the solution of social problems, and many have expressed dismay at their lack of success in solving social problems by using it. In fact, students of policy analysis have also tried to apply the model to analyze government decisions and have found it sorely lacking. Below is a discussion of some of the kinds of criticism the model has received.

In an analysis of the rationale behind the decisions made during the Cuban missile crisis, Allison (1971) shows that the rational model does not explain many of these decisions.

First of all, Allison suggests that governmental decisions reflect the independent output of several organizations and that the role of government leaders is only to coordinate these decisions rather than to make them. That is, the idea of a unitary national actor is not realistic because most leaders do not agree on goals or objectives and most laws reflect a lack of consensus through a lack of conciseness. Secondly, Allison suggests that it is not possible or normal to consider all the alternatives and to choose the very best one, since there are limitations of time and knowledge which prevent any one from doing so. Further, Allison notes that just as there are several actors who differ in their rank order of preference, there are disagreements about whose values will be maximized. One might argue that this plethora of goals and values might be submerged in a more autocratic society, yet it is likely that even in less pluralistic societies the conflicting views of participants will be evidenced in the modification of the implementation process. Although there may be no visible disagreement, implementers and targets may radically affect the outcomes so that the pronounced goals are greatly transformed.

Further criticism of the rational model comes from the work of Herbert Simon. Simon notes that decision making and planning in organizations show considerable deviation from the rational model. In particular, Simon points to five kinds of deviations. First, he notes that problems are factored, that is, problems are usually so complex that only a limited number of aspects of each problem can be attended to at any one time. Organizations normally divide complex prob-

lems into independent parts and assign them to different organization units. As a result, not all of the relations between the parts are considered. Secondly, Simon says that most people or organizations do what he calls "satisficing," that is, rather than considering all the alternatives and picking the action with the best consequences, they find a course of action that is "good enough." Given the constraints of time and money, it is unusual that a company would make a really exhaustive search of the possibilities; rather it would settle on the first "good enough" plan. Thirdly, the search process is also limited because organizations and individuals usually have a relatively routine search process and this standard process generates only a limited number of alternatives. Fourthly, most organizations strive to avoid uncertainty rather than to achieve maximum success. In general, they tend to solve pressing problems rather than develop long-run strategies. Thus, they get distracted by crisis management. Fifthly, most agencies develop repertoires (standard operating procedures) to deal with action programs, and they usually are not able to or do not look for innovative solutions. In a typical management-type problem, standard operating procedures are very efficient in dealing with problems, but where problems require a new technology this conservative approach prevents selection of the best alternatives, however defined. With these criticisms, Simon (1976) provides some powerful constraints against the full operation of the rational planning model.

Another kind of criticism of the rational model is that leveled by Melvin Webber. Webber (1978, 152) suggests that

scientific planning is a mirage and that science has nothing to say about which valued ends ought to be sought. Webber argues that specifications of goals and objectives are extra-scientific kinds of statements. Hence, using tools such as cost-benefit analysis in the decision process is irrelevant since goals are related to values and not to costs. According to Webber, if planners decide on a particular goal, nothing is too expensive to plan for.

This sort of argument fits in with the more general kind of criticism that Rittel and Webber (1973) have been making of planning theory. They question whether social science problems are ones with known technology and known consequences, which are the basis for the rational model. In order to elucidate their perspective, they divide planning problems into two kinds: "tame" problems and "wicked" problems. They claim that the problems that a scientist, engineer, or chess player deals with are tame problems, whereas the problems of social sciences are largely wicked problems. They note that the pervasive idea in planning has been efficiency. Hence, planning has been seen as a process of designing problem-solutions that might be installed and operated cheaply. Planning is then dependent on an efficiency expert who diagnoses the problem and then solves it. In social planning, it is less apparent where the problem centers lie and even less apparent where and how we should intervene when we do know which aims we seek.

Here are some of the basic differences between tame and wicked problems. Wicked problems have no stopping rule. In solving a chess problem or a math question, the problem

solver knows when he or she has done his or her job. There are criteria that tell when the/a solution has been found. This is not so with wicked problems--there are no ends to the causal chains that link interacting open systems. In social problems, the would-be planner can always do better. Another problem is that solutions to wicked problems are not true or false, but good or bad. In math, one can decide whether the solution to an equation is true or false. This can be independently checked by other qualified persons, familiar with established criteria, and the answer is normally unambiguous. However, the wicked problems are not true or false, but good or bad depending on who does the judging. The kinds of social problems Rittel and Webber describe are ones where both the technology and the consequences are often unknown. The authors want to disclaim the scientific nature of planning; rather, the choices to be made should be based on a discussion of preferred solutions. This discussion, according to Rittel and Webber, should include maximum participation of interested and affected parties so as to include sufficient consideration of alternatives so as to reach the best solution.

Further modification of the rational model comes from those who question whether there should be a clear separation between the policy and implementation stages. Rabinovitz, Pressman, and Rein (1976) note that increasingly there are two ways in which the process of implementation is being discussed. There is the traditional approach or the compliance view, in which the planners develop ways to ensure that the activities of subordinates in a hierarchically organized

institution comply with directives from their leader. In this view, there is a clear separation between the policy-making process and the implementation process. The authors suggest that there is a more recent view which sees implementation as a continuation into another arena of the political process. That is, there is no clear separation between the two stages. Hence, the task of the project manager is to balance the claims of legislative intent, public opinion, and administrative effectiveness. This view sees the politics of program administration as a continuation of the legislative-political bargaining process rather than as an altogether different and apolitical process.

The whole question of whether there should be strict separation between policy and implementation raises a further issue of whether it is appropriate to speak in terms of target populations. Webber (1978) argues that viewing a population as a target is not a good way to approach the planning process. Rather, he suggests that an effective style of planning requires procedures that might help plural polities reach decisions in acceptable ways. For Webber, acceptable ways means inclusion of so-called target populations in the discussion of goals and at all stages of planning; hence, they can no longer be called targets.

Having outlined some of the criticisms that city and social planners have made of the rational model, let us turn now to examine whether the philosophical and methodological criticisms made are really applicable to the theory of language planning proposed in Can Language Be Planned? Perhaps the most basic issue to consider is whether language problems

and planning can be considered a tame or a wicked problem. I would like to suggest that it is probably a bit of both; that is, it is more wicked than it seems and more tame than many realize.

There are several aspects to the issue of whether language planning is a tame or wicked problem. First of all, we should note that language problems are often defined as technical (hence tame) when much more than technique is at stake. Several examples can be cited. One of the most widespread relates to the problem of asking questions about language usage and knowledge in censuses. There are many discussions (Lieberson 1966; Khubchandani 1974) about how to phrase census language questions so as to be clear and unambiguous. Khubchandani considers whether it is more appropriate to ask about mother tongue or native language. Others discuss the value of asking about mother tongue versus language of the household or the best known or most frequently used language. All of this discussion assumes that there is some information that it is possible to retrieve through clearer questioning and that the responses can be taken at face value. However, Khubchandani has pointed out that responses to language questions, however phrased, cannot sort out the basic intertwining of usage and posture/identity responses. That is, what appears to be information about usage is in fact often an expression of the respondent's identity.

Illustrative of Khubchandani's point are many examples from surveys made in response to the U.S. Office of Civil Rights' requests for information about the mother tongue and ethnic background of the students in a school district.

Everyone who has seen the results of these surveys can cite anecdotal examples. My favorite comes from a survey made by the State of Hawaii which resulted in the enumeration of 12 American Indians who coincidentally were all named Wong! If census results are taken seriously (assuming the problem to be merely a technical one) and acted upon, dire consequences may result. This happened when the Belgian government used census results to divide school districts into French and Flemish (Dutch) sectors. Many Flemish parents objected strenuously because they were making an identity claim when answering the census question; in fact, their children knew only French and they had every intention that the children continue their schooling in this language.

Linguists are often called upon to help establish the number of speakers in a country or region, usually when there are some planning decisions to be made. The question of the number of speakers of different languages would appear to be a tame problem calling for technical expertise. The fact is that there are no simple techniques to establish how many languages there are in a particular area. The sociolinguistic literature is replete with evidence that all such decisions must be based on social and political judgment and matters of identity boundaries and identity advantages.

Similarly, planners may ask what seems to be a technical question when much more is implied. Following the 1974 U.S. Supreme Court decision, Lau vs. Nichols, which required that children with limited English be given some sort of special treatment, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) required school districts to report on the number of such children and the

type of program designed for them. Failure to respond to the OCR request could mean loss of federal aid. In order to comply, school districts gathered information through surveys. As it turned out, several of the questions in these surveys were not as straightforward and technical as they appeared to be, and one could wonder how they related to the purpose of the survey. For example, school districts were asked to inquire into the home language. How one is to decide which language is the home language is often arbitrary when there are many family members and sometimes different languages spoken by them. Since the intention of the survey was to provide help for children with limited English, one might wonder why this question was asked rather than asking about the language of the child.¹ Another seemingly technical question required by OCR was the determination of the "language dominance" of the child. The assumption that a person is dominant in one language rather than able to perform or discuss in one language under certain circumstances (depending on topic, location, addresses) and to perform in another language under different circumstances is sociolinguistically naive. The question seemed to relate to the desire to provide for education in languages other than English, if at all possible. A child might be quite able to work on school subjects in one language and on other topics in a second or third language. Thus, although OCR seemed to proceed in a technical fashion to provide the necessary education for limited English speakers, it in fact was doing a great deal more.

Language problems are also wicked in the sense that causal

relations are often unclear; as Rittel and Webber (1973) indicate, there is no stopping rule. An example cited by Rittel and Webber is the problem of determining the causal antecedents of poverty. They ask, if poverty means low income, what determines low income? Several suggestions have been made and there still is no agreement. The suggestions include: deficiency of national and regional economies, deficiencies of cognitive and occupational skills, deficient physical and mental health, cultural deprivation, spatial dislocation, problems of ego identity, or deficient political and social skills. Similarly, there are questions of causal antecedents in language planning and no clear stopping point. For example, there is the question of which problem bilingual education is supposed to solve. Is it needed because there is a direct relation between language ability and school performance? Or is poor school performance more related to self-image, class image, or personality (the child's ability to interact and learn with limited language knowledge), or is it related to the cultural approach to the role of education in society? When a bill to encourage bilingual education was first promoted in the United States, much of the discussion suggested that there was a direct relation between income level and language ability. The implication was that if the language problem were corrected, the income level would automatically increase. Bilingual education in the United States is a good example of a wicked problem in that it is questionable whether it will ever be possible to point to or agree on the causal chain for which bilingual education is the solution. The point is that there is no definitive formulation of a wicked problem.

On the other hand, it is very important to note that there are some tame aspects of language planning that are not always treated as such. That is, frequently there are objective information sources and accepted techniques for acquiring information, but these are not sought out. This point can be illustrated by a couple of examples. The State of California (like other states concerned with providing bilingual education) was interested in establishing the number of students who should be given special attention due to their limited English knowledge. A home language survey was put together for this purpose. The survey questions indicated little knowledge of generally accepted language categories. For example, both Sri Lankan and Singhalese were listed as languages, but not Tamil. Since the two official languages of Sri Lanka are Tamil and Singhalese, one wonders which language was referred to by the label Sri Lankan. Another example from the same form shows a lack of knowledge of generally accepted language categories by listing both Egyptian and Arabic.²

Further, if planners were to pay attention to what is known about the spatial distribution of languages and varieties, specifically that they often coexist (cf. Khubchandani 1983 and Serpell, in press, for examples of the fluidity of languages in India and Zambia, respectively), they might not be in such a hurry to replace the rich functional distribution of these languages/varieties by a single elite standard, which is an exceedingly difficult task.

The question of whether language problems are tame or wicked is not a simple one. Problems may look tame but actu-

ally be wicked. Technology may be assumed and in fact not be relevant or known. On the other hand, problems that are thought to be wicked may in fact be tame, especially when the technology is known and not used.

We can turn now to the criticism raised by Allison of whether there is a single agent or several who determine goals. As in other kinds of social planning, goal setting in language planning often reflects compromise or a strategy of vagueness to avoid conflict. The Bilingual Education Act in the United States has never been very clear as to its goals. Often goals in language planning are not clearly established either on purpose or by chance. Two further examples can be cited. First, I suggest that the nation builders of Ireland did not really intend to make Irish the language of daily communication; rather they used the language which enhanced nationalism. Next, in Quebec, Canada, there is a major effort currently being implemented to make French the language of industry. However, many would agree that the real goal of this endeavor is priority consideration for French speakers in top-echelon jobs. Francophones have difficulty with the question whether Anglophone bilinguals would in fact have equal access to jobs with Francophone monolinguals. These examples indicate by their lack of clarity the multiple goals that legislation often does not resolve.

Language planning literature has followed the economic model and used the term target population in describing the population affected by language planning. This term is frequent in Can Language Be Planned? In reviewing another language planning volume, Khubchandani (1975) questioned the

wisdom of using the concept of target population. He stated that elites did damage by imposing a standard form of Hindi on a population that already had a well established functional distribution of language use. Instead of observing what the usage patterns were and adding an urban form, the elites moved toward replacement of the rural form of Hindi. This policy created a great deal of confusion and self-criticism and prevented a successful outcome to the planning operation. Khubchandani argues that if more knowledge and involvement of the target population were the pattern, more successful conclusions could be expected.

On the question of whether the plan and implementation should be or are in fact divided or united, there is little evidence from language planning because the implementation process is so little studied in planning in general and language planning in particular (however, for some examples of some of the problems in implementation, cf. Rubin, forthcoming; Arjona 1983). There are some limited data to support the more recent view, which sees implementation as a continuation into another arena of the political process. In personal conversations, it has been reported that the director of the U.S. Office of Bilingual Education often has to juggle between the legislative mandate, which calls for transitional bilingual education, and his constituents' preference for maintenance bilingual education. Insofar as he follows his constituents' preferences, he can be called on the carpet by the legislature. In fact, the director has frequently been questioned about the goals of his implementation--both by the legislature and by the constituents. Arjona (1983) has col-

lected data on how the planning agents keep changing as the implementation process spreads and affects more and more people. In particular, Arjona is examining the implementation of the U.S. Court Interpreters Act.

In conclusion, we can ask whether the rational model is one that ought to continue to be used for language planning or for other forms of social planning. The fact is that despite the many criticisms of it, most social planners agree that the rational model is the best one they've got so far. What they suggest is that the model needs to be modified in the ways suggested above: by involving as many kinds of persons as possible in the planning process at all levels and stages, by recognizing the political nature of implementation and the difficulty of separating plan making and implementation, by recognizing that social planning involves wicked problems (unclear goal setting and unknown technologies) and attempting to solve these in a less routinized manner, and by trying to find ways to have more innovative search techniques.

We can see that there is no doubt that the rational model is a useful heuristic device. It helps to coordinate diverse attention to problems. For example, if different agencies are working on the same problem, language planning may bring their efforts together. It incorporates a wider view of problems. One way to do this in language planning is to insist that all the kinds of languages be looked at together to assess their relationship, that doing so will enhance planning for all the languages. For example, for a very long time in Indonesia, the work on the national language was con-

sidered without concern for the languages of wider communication or the regional languages. Once this was done, greater perspective was gained and decision making could be rationalized in a more global perspective vis-à-vis other planning. The rational model can help in setting priorities and may help us clarify our goals. Language planning can greatly benefit from using the rational model, but it must bear in mind that many of the problems it attempts to address are wicked, where the goals are value-laden and the technology for solutions is not readily available.

NOTES

1. One explanation given me by an OCR employee was so notes could be sent home. One then wonders why it was necessary to list the language used by everyone in the home, which is what is commonly done.

2. Other anecdotal examples have been noted in other areas of the United States. One person told me of a case where the following were listed as language groups: Belgian, Jewish, Israeli, and African.

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A NOTE ON THE STATUS OF THEORY IN LANGUAGE PLANNING

Ranjit Singh Rangila

K. Rangan

Research in language planning has followed two directions, one to find out how to do language planning, the other to recognize language problems that exist or that could exist. But the central question is to establish causal relationships, where and with what. One of the ways to do that is to have a typology of situations. A type of situation gives rise to a type of problem. Thereby one could propose hypotheses of causal relations. To be able to establish causal relationships one ought to know how situations work.

The steps to be followed in solving language problems would be determined only by that causal relationship that one recognizes between the situation and the problem. That is, we have to start with situations, to know their inner dynamics. The recognition of problems becomes secondary and the solutions have to be directed only by the inner dynamism of the situation that gives rise to the problem.

Part II

COUNTRY STUDIES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

COUNTRY STUDIES OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

Joan Rubin

A major focus of the Institute was language planning "with special reference to minorities and tribes." This concern with minorities and tribes was manifest in a variety of ways. One of the presentors (Afendras) outlined some issues which arise in planning for change in minority language use. He noted that there labels for such groups ranging from the folk to the official, including such groups as immigrants, tribals, locals, minorities, and migrants. The definition of which of these is to be considered a minority is based on a host of sociocultural dynamics. Afendras cited Kloss's list of some of the variables that may lead to demands for minority language rights: (1) length of residence, which is often related to the legitimacy of demands, (2) the nature of the contact process (migration, colonization, incorporation, conquest, or deportation) may color the legitimacy of demands, (3) biological and cultural attributes may be used in the definition of group boundaries, and (4) the nature of historical processes during precontact and contact periods. Many other variables came out in the papers of this section and in the discussions. As an example of how these dimensions worked, one participant noted that in Tripura, length of residence had converted a numerical majority into a

minority!!! Discussions in India of which languages should be included among the scheduled languages often rely upon the above and other sociopolitical criteria.

The promotion of a minority language requires consideration of many factors. Dua provides us with a summary of the many complexities that enter into the protection of minority groups, pointing out that protection is not merely a legal and constitutional issue but also an economic and social question. He notes that the implementation of institutions and resources for language planning for minority languages depends upon a variety of socioeconomic factors: the distribution of power and resources between the majority and minority groups, or among several minority groups; the demographic structure of minorities; their economic and social development; their political and social mobilization; and the development and functional status of their languages. In short, even with constitutional guarantees, the promotion of minority languages is an involved matter.

One of the ways in which minorities gain some measure of recognition is through language movements, and the paper by Singh details the complex set of actions that have led to recognition of the use of the Maithili language in several domains: there is now a Maithili university, Maithili is used as a subject in Public Service Commission examinations, and there is a radio station that caters to the needs of the Maithili speakers. One of the problems that the movement faced was the argument that the language was a dialect of Hindi. This argument was successfully countered by citing its special linguistic character and its literary tradition.

On the other hand, demands for a separate state for Maithili have met with less success.

Which varieties should be included or grouped with a language has been raised even with regard to Hindi. As Mahapatra points out, the census is an important tool in language planning, in the determination of which languages need different kinds of planning. But, he notes the complexities of defining a language, even one as widely spoken and studied as Hindi. Mahapatra notes, "the linguistic information on Hindi is most baffling." Others (see, for example, Khubchandani 1983, 40-64) have noted that claims for language are based on popular beliefs about language--equating language with script, language with religion or race, among others. The definitional issue can make planning complex, indeed, some would call it "wicked" and not subject to objective study (cf. Rubin, pp. 105-122 in this volume).

Several papers noted that the needs of minorities are often given short shrift with unfortunate consequences for both the minority and majority groups. Brudhiprabha observes that it is only in recent times that there has been recognition of the existence of minority languages in Thailand. In general, the language policy of the Thai government has been assimilationist. Yet, the Thai Muslim group in the south has not gone along with this policy, and quite a bit of violence has resulted. Brudhiprabha feels that it is essential that the question of minority languages be taken up especially in planning for the education domain.

A similar plea comes from Dahal and Subba, who observe that while Nepal is one of the most ethnically diverse

countries in Asia, it needs a formula to promote national unity while still respecting linguistic and ethnic diversity. They also feel that there should be strong governmental commitment to bilingual education at least in the primary schools. Otherwise, they caution, the gap between the masses and the elite and between the urbanized advanced ethnic groups and the backward majority will continue to grow.

Even seemingly homogeneous groups have minority issues to deal with. Officially, Swedish is the language of Sweden. But, as Jernudd points out, many groups--indigenous people; religious, refugee, and immigrant groups; labor immigrants--have made claims for recognition of their language concerns. Further, he notes that foreign languages play an important role in universities and industry so that Sweden is far from being a monolingual country.

Nonetheless, for purposes of nation-building, some countries have chosen to emphasize one language for a period of time, often to the exclusion of other languages or dialects. Khamisi reports on the efforts made by Tanzania to promote the use of Swahili, once a minority language, throughout the country. He mentions the role of the language promoter, the preparation of materials, and the retraining of teachers for Swahili. He notes the development of materials and teachers for secondary schools and university. Finally, he notes that the role of local languages will need to be studied.

Another country that has succeeded in making a local language, Bahasa Indonesia, the national language is described by Djoko Kentjono. He describes some of the concerns that Indonesia faced in making the language into a national lan-

guage, including the definition of a standard spelling, grammar, and terminology. He notes that this definition is being jointly carried out through a committee from Indonesia and Malaysia. To date, little care has been given to the regional languages of the country since top priority has of necessity been given to the development of the national language. Still, there are some who have noted and mourned the decline of the prestige of the major regional languages.

Mauritius is a country where the definition of the national language seems to be in process. Hookoomsing argues that Creole can potentially become the national language of the country since everyone speaks or can speak the language. Further, he feels that Creole can serve the cause of nation-building since it is more neutral than the other languages. Although the official languages are English and French, Creole is gaining in the number of speakers and in its usage.

Chidambaram provides a description of activities in progress to develop the scheduled language Tamil in Tamil Nadu. He notes, "the task before the Tamils is to equip this ancient language for the successful replacement of English at all levels of education, administration, and the courts." There has been a series of agitations in Tamil Nadu. The first was against the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in high schools. The second was against Hindi becoming the sole official language of India. The third was against the imposition of Tamil as a medium of instruction in government colleges. The third agitation suggests that not all citizens are willing to give up the role of English in education.

Kelkar reviews some of the reasons for changing the situation in the state of Maharashtra, where the majority language, Marathi, is used up to the district level and English is used as the state language. There is a need to develop Marathi administrative terms, yet the issue is complex. There are those who would see these terms as leaning more toward Sanskrit and Sanskritized Hindi, others are for forming Marathi terms, and still others advocate English-based terms. He provides an analysis of three schools of thought in language planning in Maharashtra--well-controlled planning, limited planning, and the conservative approach.

These eleven papers run the gamut from considerations for one language for a region or nation to descriptions of the need for a more complex view of language use and language planning whereby the "local" or "ethnic" or "minority" language is to be used in some domains--often education, mass media, or administration. Minority languages or *linguae francae* often become majority languages with little consideration being given to other minority groups. Where honest efforts are made to promote minority languages, there is still a host of implementation constraints that must be attended to if planning is to be successful.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

H. R. Dua

The protection of minorities, defined in terms of language, religion, race, ethnicity, or any other criterion, singly or in combination, against discrimination, segregation, and persecution at the hands of dominant majority groups is a challenging problem faced by both the developed and developing countries. The movements by some minorities for self-assertion, social identity, cultural autonomy, and political separation and the concern of some governments for their integration with the majority group without assimilation as well as for the preservation of their language, religion, and culture in the process of change and modernization have brought into focus a wide range of problems having implications for linguistic, education, socioculture, and economic development. In this paper, we present language problems of linguistic minorities (whose languages are not included in Schedule VIII) from the perspective of language planning with special reference to the Indian multilingual context. These problems relate to the standardization and development of minority languages and their use in education, mass communication, and administration commensurate with their status and function in the total communicative repertoire of the nation or speech community.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR MINORITIES

It is common practice to provide legal and constitutional safeguards to protect the interests of minorities. The safeguards may be oriented towards integration through equality and nondiscriminatory techniques or through domination approaches or towards the maintenance of differences between groups through techniques of pluralism (Palley 1979). The constitutional provisions for the minorities in the Indian Constitution are pluralistic in nature and adequate to safeguard the language, religion, and culture of the minorities. However, the complex multilingual situation of India and the variations in the size and concentration of linguistic minorities, their sociocultural and economic development, and their political and social mobilization have posed problems of policy and implementation for the development of minority languages and their use in education, mass communication, and administration.

The Indian Constitution neither defines "minority" nor provides criteria for determining a minority. However, several principles and guidelines can be used to decide about the minority status of a community on the basis of language and religion and the specific cases that have come up before the Supreme Court. In one case, the court observed that a linguistic minority "is one which must at least have a separate spoken language. It is not necessary that that language should also have a distinct script for those who speak it to be a linguistic minority. There are in this country some languages which have no script of their own but nevertheless

those sections of the people who speak that language will be a linguistic minority" (quoted by Jacob 1972, 371).

This raises a fundamental issue of distinguishing one spoken variety from another, which we need not go into in detail here. We may simply refer to the fact that the Census of India is the major source of mother-tongue identification, though in some cases the notion of mother tongue has been mixed up with region, religion, profession, ethnicity, caste names, and the like. The number of languages/mother tongues returned in the censuses of 1951, 1961, and 1971 are 782, 1652, and 3,000 respectively. In the 1971 census, the mother tongues were grouped into 105 languages by following a more rigorous method of identification and classification, and the distribution of speakers was given for persons, males, and females, cross classified by total, rural, and urban areas. We need not discuss the distribution of tribal, scheduled, and nontribal nonscheduled minority languages in different states and union territories (see Dua 1978). We may point out that some of them are used in education but not in mass communication, some are used in mass communication but not in education, some are used in both education and mass communication, and some are used in neither education nor mass communication. Thus the development of minority languages and their use in education, administration, and mass communication is very much an open question, and the implementation of constitutional safeguards is a challenging, stupendous task.

The Indian Constitution provides certain rights to minorities to preserve their languages, religions, and cultures and

enjoins the government not only to use minority languages in education and administration but also to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities in matters of education, administration, and recruitment. According to Article 29(1), any group having a distinct language, script, or culture of its own has the right to "conserve the same." This right can be realized under Article 30(1), which provides for the display of group initiative and freedom to establish and administer educational institutions of their own choice. Thus Article 31(1) tacitly recognizes the assumption that a minority community can best conserve its language, script, or culture through educational institutions, though it has been pointed out in bilingual education that the use of a minority language in education does not necessarily contribute to its maintenance (Dua 1979). However, the assumption seems to be valid from the point of view of constitutional protection of linguistic minorities. In order to make it operative and effective, Article 30(2) debars the state from discriminating against a minority institution in according recognition or grants for its maintenance and proper functioning on the grounds that it is under the management of a linguistic or a religious minority. It is obvious that unrecognized minority institutions without adequate economic resources can neither survive for long in competition with majority institutions nor fulfil their function of preserving the language and culture for cohesion and identity of the minority group in question.

Article 30 recognizes not only the multilingual character of the Indian situation but also the aspirations of the

minority community. Consistent with the multilingual, multi-ethnic, and multicultural situation, it is recognized that the character of a minority institution does not change when students from other communities are admitted. In fact, under Article 29(2) neither a state-aided minority-run educational institution nor any other institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of state funds can deny admission to any citizen on the grounds only of religion, race, caste, or language. As regards the aspirations of the minority community, a minority institution can claim protection under Article 30 not only when it is engaged exclusively in the conservation of minority language, script, or culture but also when it imparts general education. This is implied by the words "of their choice" in the article, which accords full discretion to the minority community in deciding the nature and purpose of its educational institutions in accordance with the requirements of modern higher education as well as the preservation of its language, religion, and culture.

The rights of the minorities under Article 30(1) are different from other fundamental rights in article 19 in that they are not subject to a "reasonable restriction" that may be imposed by the state inter alia in the interest of the general public. Nevertheless, the state has the power to regulate educational institutions of the minorities in order to ensure that educational standards are met and to check malpractices. In the exercise of its regulatory powers, the state can prescribe conditions of employment of teachers and their qualifications, facilities for students, teaching methods, educational standards for grants-in-aid and recogni-

tion, and the like. However, the regulatory power of the state does not include the right to prescribe the medium of instruction or to lay down patterns for admission, management, and administration under the label of public interest. The regulation of the minority institutions by the state must not only be reasonable but also conducive to making the institution an effective vehicle of education for the minority community and other persons who resort to it (Massey 1972, 340). In various cases that have come before the court in which the state or any university has tried to impose a medium of instruction or administrative requirements uncongenial to the minority institution, the court has maintained, as Massey (1972, 351) points out, "the spirit and the contents of the constitutional rights of the minorities.

While Article 30(1) depends on the initiative and dynamism of the minority community to establish and administer educational institutions of its choice, Article 350(A) requires initiative on the part of the state to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities. It says:

It shall be the endeavor of every State and every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary for securing the provision of such facilities.

Article 350(B) makes provision for the appointment of a commissioner for linguistic minorities who may supervise and "investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under this Constitution" and who is

required to submit his reports to the president, as and when directed, which will be "laid before each House of Parliament and sent to the Governments of the States concerned" for necessary action and implementation of the safeguards.

As in education, adequate provisions are made for the use of minority languages for official purposes. Under Article 347, the president can direct in appropriate cases that the minority language be officially recognized for use in administration throughout a state or any part thereof for such purposes as he may specify. Apart from this, there are constitutional provisions for issuing important government notices, rules, regulations, and the like in a minority language if the minority language speakers constitute 15-20 percent of the population at the municipality level, for recognizing a minority language as an additional official language if 60 percent of the population of a district speak it, and for submitting a petition or "representation for the redress of grievances to any officer or authority of the Union or State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State as the case may be" (Article 350).

The annual reports submitted by the commissioner of linguistic minorities are the major source of information about the nature and extent of problems relating to availability of mother-tongue media, textbooks, teachers, and other aspects of implementation of constitutional safeguards for linguistic minorities. Since it would not be possible to discuss all the problems here, we will make only a few comments regarding the implementation of constitutional provisions.

First, the provision in Article 350(A) for adequate facilities for mother-tongue instruction has not been complied with earnestly by various states. Some states have not complied at all or have delayed implementation. For instance, the Assam government maintained until 1975 that it was the right of the state government to recognize any language or dialect for the medium of instruction. Some states have complied with reluctance or in a half-hearted manner. We may refer here to the maintenance of advance registers for linguistic minority pupils so that educational authorities may assess the demands of linguistic minorities and provide instruction in their mother tongues by opening separate schools or separate sections in the existing schools as necessary. In some states, such advance registers have not been maintained at all, have been maintained only for some districts, or have not been kept up-to-date. Thus it is not possible to make any proper assessment of the actual progress in implementation of the constitutional safeguards under Article 350(A).

Secondly, in regard to use of minority languages for official purposes, it has been suggested that translation bureaus be set up and that a list of districts with 15 percent or more population of minority languages be prepared by the state governments. In this respect also progress in various states is not very satisfactory. Though some facilities for translation of Schedule VIII languages with minority status in some states are available, there is almost no arrangement for translation in nonschedule minority languages due to lack of staff, financial difficulties, or other reasons.

Finally, the commissioner of linguistic minorities acts only in an advisory capacity and has no authority either to implement any decision or to force his recommendations on the state governments. As a result, there is a big time lag between complaints lodged by linguistic minorities and decisions made about them by the government.

The problems involved in the implementation of legal and constitutional safeguards provided to the linguistic minorities show that these provisions can neither be exhaustive or comprehensive enough to protect the linguistic minorities nor adequate enough in themselves without requisite sociolinguistic conditions. There is no doubt that legal and constitutional provisions can certainly alter the position of the minorities. Yet there is a need for change in public opinion and attitudes not only for implementation of constitutional safeguards but also for the acceptance of minority rights and a pluralistic approach on the part of the majority community.

Furthermore, the protection of minorities is not merely a legal and constitutional question but also an economic and social question. The economic and social protection of linguistic minorities depends on many factors. It depends not only on the distribution of power and resources between the majority and minority groups, or between several minority groups, but also on the demographic structure of minorities, their economic and social development, their political and social mobilization, and the developmental and functional status of their languages. The implication of these sociolinguistic factors for the implementation of constitutional safeguards and the growth of institutions and resources for

various aspects of language planning will become clear in the discussion below.

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXTS OF LINGUISTIC MINORITIES

The sociolinguistic contexts of linguistic minorities vary widely in terms of the numerical strength, linguistic division and boundaries, geographical distribution, sociohistorical background, and attitudes towards their own language and culture as well as towards the majority community. The numerical strength of linguistic minorities varies from 5.7 percent of state population in Kerala to 45 percent in Assam. The religious minorities vary from 2.4 percent of the population in Orissa to 39.2 percent in Kerala. It is not possible to state any minimum strength of a minority community that could be considered as a prerequisite for the development of a minority language and its use in education for maintenance of separate identity and preservation of language and culture. For instance, Gonds constitute 46.3 percent of the total tribal population in India, but Gondi is not used as a medium of instruction. Though Gondi in Devanagari script was used as a medium of instruction in Andhra Pradesh under the Comprehensive Gond Education Scheme started by Haimendorf in 1943, the practice was discontinued in 1965 and in spite of the difficulties of Gond children in learning through Telugu, no attempt has been made to revive Gondi as a medium of instruction. It is therefore not without reason that more emphasis is laid on the status as opposed to the number in defining a cultural minority (Wagly and Harris 1958) or a

minority language. Nonetheless, the size of the group cannot be altogether ignored. It would be expected that small minority communities will have less chance of survival or of having a distinct identity than large minority groups provided the required sociolinguistic conditions prevail in the community.

In terms of language divisions, it would be useful to distinguish between minorities whose languages are included in Schedule VIII and those minorities whose languages may be characterized as tribal or nontribal or nonschedule. The linguistic minorities in the former group are in a better position than the minorities in the latter group in terms of the availability of textbooks, teachers, and school facilities because their languages are used as media of instruction as well as being dominant official languages in one state or another. Among the minorities of scheduled languages, Sindhi- and Urdu-speaking minorities are spread all over India and present a range of problems different from those of the other minorities in this group. For instance, the Urdu-speaking minorities in Hindi-speaking states differ from such minorities in Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh (Dua 1980b). In Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, Urdu speakers use their local variety known as Dakkhani Urdu at home and in group communication, standard Urdu in education and formal settings, and Kannada or Telugu, as the case may be, with the native speakers in the respective regions.

The language affiliation of the minority community with the majority language may also be a significant factor in the sociolinguistic context of linguistic minorities. Some lin-

guistic minorities have accepted the language of the majority community as a cultural language or as a superposed language. For instance, Tulu and Kodagu speakers have accepted Kannada as a cultural language and have not found it necessary to have instruction through their mother tongue, though recently there have been some attempts to recognize their languages as markers of separate identity with the establishment of research institutions for the development of scripts and language. A similar phenomenon seems to be found in the case of tribal minority groups that have accepted the regional language of the state as the medium of education as in the case of Gonds. Similarly, various dialect groups in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, and other Hindi-speaking areas have accepted Hindi as a superposed variety for the purposes of education, mass communication, and administration and are therefore not very keen on the principle of the mother-tongue medium of instruction.

When a linguistic minority does not accept a majority language as a cultural language or superposed language, even then it may not be keen for the mother-tongue medium. Thus in Mysore City the speakers of Telugu, Tamil, and Malayalam do not have their languages as media of instruction, though they have them as media at other places. Thus, the use of any minority language as medium of instruction and as a symbol of identity depends on the attitude of the minority community towards its language as well as the language of the majority community.

Geographical concentration and social divisions may create a complex sociolinguistic situation for a linguistic minor-

ity. From the point of view of geographical concentration, the minorities may be characterized as bloc minorities, diffused minorities, or border minorities. For instance, Santhal speakers in India are found in such states as Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, and Assam and thus constitute a diffused minority as well as a border minority in some respects. The geographical boundaries of Santhals have complicated the solution of the complex issue of a single script for the Santhali language. This has been further complicated because of the religious division of Santhali speakers into Hindus, Christians, and followers of native religions. We will discuss below how the significance of the choice of script for concerted efforts in language development and planning and for social cohesiveness and group identity.

The geographical concentration of linguistic minorities may be more or less similar, and yet different sociohistorical factors may have a different impact on language consciousness and language planning activities. This becomes clear if we compare the language situation in Nagaland and Arunachal Pradesh. Both states have a number of distinct language groups living in isolated terrain with none of them forming an absolute majority. Historically while Nagaland was in continuous conflict with British rule, and has been under the influence of Christianity, Arunachal Pradesh was untouched by British administration, leaving the traditional culture and political organization of the tribes undisturbed (Gupta 1977). This difference seems to have led to a different degree of awareness of language use in the two states. In Nagaland, fourteen tribal languages are used as media of

instruction up to standards V, VIII, and X, depending upon the strength of the tribe. But in Arunachal Pradesh, even though fourteen major tribal languages were taught through Hindi at one time, none of them is used as a medium of instruction or taught as a subject, though some attempts are being made in this direction.

The planning of a minority language for development and use and effective implementation of constitutional facilities depends to a great extent on the processes of social mobilization and political organization prevalent in the minority community. There are not many case studies in India showing the implications of social processes for minority language planning. The case of the Maithili movement seems to be quite revealing in this respect. Brass (1975, 115) found that "social mobilization among Maithili speakers has been slow in absolute and in relative terms. Both absolute levels and rates of change over time in literacy, urbanization and industrialization and English education has been among the lowest in the entire subcontinent." Even though Maithili speakers have a distinct language and rich literary tradition, their political mobilization has been too weak to have made any impact on the language policy of the Bihar government. If we look into the seventh, ninth, and thirteenth reports of the commissioner of linguistic minorities, we find no complaint by the Maithili speakers about the use of their mother tongue in education. Furthermore, the educated elite among the Maithili speakers has been assimilated by the Hindi- or English-speaking elite group. The process of assimilation of Maithili speakers has been further accelerat-

ed due to the rapid social mobilization of Magahi-speaking districts. The dominance of Hindi in these districts has also meant the spread of Hindi to Maithili districts. Thus, the processes of social change among the Maithili language speakers have not proved conducive to the development of the Maithili language and its use in education as a medium of instruction.

The variables in the sociolinguistic contexts of linguistic minorities discussed above indicate not only that utilization and effectiveness of legal and constitutional safeguards vary from one minority to another, but also that the language planning activities for the development and use of minority languages cannot be fruitful unless these sociolinguistic variables are taken into account.

MINORITY LANGUAGES IN EDUCATION

We need to understand the implications of several issues of educational importance for the scope and nature of planning the use of minority languages in education. Some of these issues pertain to the duration of their use, their function and position in the educational structure, the availability of trained teachers and textbooks, the content of the curriculum, and the intergroup attitude towards education. As regards the duration of the use of minority languages, we find a great deal of diversity in various states and Union territories. Most of the minority languages are used as media of instruction in the preprimary, primary, or middle

stage of education. Only Ao, Angami, Lushai, Sadani, Santhali, Maithili, and Manipuri are used as media of instruction for ten or eleven years. None of the minority languages is used as a medium of instruction at the university level, though some of them are taught as subjects in the universities. The variation in the number of years for which minority languages are used in education may be related to the availability of textbooks and teachers or the sociolinguistic conditions of the minority community. Proper understanding of the reasons for variation is important in undertaking language development and planning. It is also essential to find out the minimum time limit during which mother-tongue media are used in concept formation and development of learning strategies so that it can be usefully exploited for second-language teaching or teaching of other subjects. This further depends on the level of competence required in the mother tongue and on its function in group solidarity and language maintenance.

In the use of minority languages as media of instruction for a restricted number of years, two other important issues have implications for educational methodology and policy. Since the minority children are required to switch from their mother tongue to another medium of instruction in secondary or higher education, care must be taken that they are not put to disadvantage in this process. They must have adequate competence in the language that they are going to adopt as a second medium. This should not necessarily mean that the teaching of this language should be pushed in the early stages of education. Similarly the dropping of the mother

tongue should neither be too soon nor too sudden. Thus the question of shifting from one medium to another is a significant methodological question that requires empirical research as well as careful execution. In this respect, the bilingual education--which involves teaching through the mother tongue in the initial stages, both mother tongue and second language for some time, and a gradual shift to the second language--could be a useful model to solve this methodological problem (Pattanayak 1977a).

The second issue regarding educational policy is related to the complex multilingual character of the Indian situation, which requires the study of English, Hindi, and any one of the major regional languages. This is one of the reasons that most of the minority languages used till the end of the middle stage of education are not continued afterwards. For instance, only Ho, Maithili, Mundari, Oraon, and Santhali are taught as compulsory second languages, and only Lushai, Sadani, and Santhali are taught as compulsory third languages. We must clearly understand the consequences of continuing or discontinuing the teaching of mother tongues after the primary or middle stage. The continuation of the teaching of the mother tongue beyond the middle stage involves not only the burden of learning more languages by minority children but also a higher degree of language planning and language development of minority languages. Their discontinuation may restrict their development as well as their function.

The two major stumbling blocks to the effective use of minority languages in education are the lack of textbooks and well-trained teachers. The lack of textbooks is a common

complaint that can be easily found in the reports of the commissioner of linguistic minorities. The production and publication of pedagogically sound and well-designed textbooks requires both financial and personnel resources. While the financial problems can be easily solved as the state governments subsidize the publication of textbooks in minority languages, it is relatively difficult to get trained persons to prepare suitable textbooks. A coordinated effort in the training of personnel and preparation of textbooks is essential in meeting the demand. It has been shown, for instance, in The Rivers Readers Project in Nigeria that it is easier to provide textbooks in twenty small languages within a coordinated project than to cater for them through completely separate organizations. A similar experience has been reported by the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, which has organized several workshops for the training of tribal graduates and preparation of primers and readers in several tribal languages for the purpose of adult literacy and primary education. The active support and encouragement of the governments, the willingness of the minority community to devote time and effort, and the expertise and research findings of the research institutions are essential components in the preparation and publication of textbooks in minority languages.

The range and quality of textbooks produced in minority languages have serious implications for their effective use in education as well as their proper development. It has been reported by Burman (1968) that books are produced in sixty tribal languages, consisting mostly of dictionaries,

word books, textbooks, and religious literature. However, books on creative literature and such subjects as philosophy, history, and economics are being produced only in some tribal languages. Thus, we find works in drama, novels, and other forms of literature in Khasi, Hmar, Paite, Thadau, Angami, Ao, Kabui, Oraon, Munda, and Santhali. Books on philosophy, history, economics, and other related subjects can be found in Garo, Kachari, Khasi, Paite, Thadou, Angami, Thangkhul, and Sema. The availability of creative literature and books on a wide range of topics provides a useful resource for production of textbooks, extensive use of minority languages in education, and the expression and interpretation of the ideas, values, and beliefs of both minority and majority cultures in the context of modern life and conditions.

The availability of trained teachers poses a great challenge for the effective use of minority languages in education. For one thing, the rate of literacy among the speakers of minority languages is generally low, and we may not find enough teachers to teach through the mother tongue. Secondly, even if educated minority language speakers are available, they may prefer jobs in other fields rather than in the teaching profession. Once the requisite number of persons is available, they need to be trained to teach and to prepare textbooks. The training of teachers is essential not only from the point of view of pedagogical principles for effective teaching but also for sociolinguistic reasons. It has been found that the attitudes of the teachers towards their mother tongue, their culture, the majority culture, and the pupils may have indirect implications for minority children's

proficiency in the mother tongue and bilingualism and for the maintenance of their language and culture (Dua 1979).

The duration and function of minority languages in education and the availability of textbooks and teachers depend a great deal on the attitudes of both the minority and majority communities towards the problems of education. As regards minority attitudes, the use of minority languages in education may be encouraged simply as a symbol of minority status and identity or as an effective medium of education for the preservation and transmission of cultural heritage. In the latter case, the minority community needs not only to lend its active support to the development of educational institutions, but also to be clear as to what values of the community and what elements of its history, way of life, religion, and culture are to be transmitted through its language. This requires evaluation and interpretation of its own culture as well as the acceptance of the majority culture and its values by the minority group. If the minority community lays too much emphasis on its own culture, it may not only isolate itself from the mainstream of social life but also alienate its members, who may see more advantages accruing to them from the majority language and culture. On the other hand, if it puts too much emphasis on the values of the majority culture, it may hasten the process of assimilation and lose its distinctive character in time. Thus, there may soon come a stage when education through minority language may have no attraction or relevance for the community. It is, therefore, essential for the minority group to strike a balance between the contents of the two cultures when conflicting demands are made on it.

The attitudes of the majority community towards minority language, culture, and institutions are no less significant for the implementation of constitutional provisions and the growth of a pluralistic society. Even though the majority community may accept the right of the minority to education through its language at the primary stage or even at the secondary stage, it may follow a policy of cultural assimilation through language and other subjects at higher levels of education. It may covertly denounce the values of minority culture and religion and try to impose its own view of history, culture, and life under the pretext of social development, modernization, and national integration. It may perceive the provision of education through minority languages as a waste of time and money or as a source of group solidarity leading to the assertion of special rights and privileges or even separate statehood by the minority community. Under such conditions, the majority community may discourage the use of minority languages in education or adopt a protracted policy in the implementation process under the pretext of economic and administrative constraints.

It is obvious that both the minority and majority communities may display a wide range of positive and negative attitudes towards each other's culture, language, and institutions. The vitality and function of education through minority languages depends on the nature of mutual attitudes. Sutherland (1979, 48) rightly remarks:

Educational provision for minority groups therefore depends on a multitude of inter-related factors both of cultural values and of administrative and economic considerations. It is affected by the majority group's

estimate of its own position and future as well as by the minority group's self-perception and wishes.

The use of minority languages in formal education is necessarily linked with their use in adult literacy. In both Dahomey and Sierra Leone it has been found that mother tongues have been used more in adult literacy than in formal education at the primary level. This disparity must not lead to the belief that the mother tongues are best suited for literacy work but are not suitable for education and public service. This will eventually not only affect literacy work but also impede their development for education at the primary level. An opposite trend seems to be noticeable in India, where minority languages are used more in formal education at the primary level than in adult literacy. However, recently emphasis has been laid on the preparation of adult primers in minority languages.

MINORITY LANGUAGES IN ADMINISTRATION AND MASS COMMUNICATION

Planning of minority languages for development is reinforced by the compatibility of their use both in administration and mass communication as well as formal and nonformal education. Language use cannot be insulated for long in a rapidly changing society. If the use of a minority language in a particular domain is not reinforced by its use in other domains or is not complementary in relation to the other languages in the communicative repertoire of the society, it tends gradually to decline, leading eventually to its loss or displace-

ment by another language. We must therefore clearly understand the implications of the compatibility of use of minority languages in different domains in relation to the majority language from the point of view of their development and use.

The use of minority languages in administration in the Indian setting seems to have been ignored for political, economic, social, and administrative reasons. As pointed out earlier, the provision for their use at the district or municipality level in relation to specific percentage of minority speakers has not been implemented in general. The only nonscheduled minority language reported to be in use at the lower levels of administration is Khasi in Meghalaya.

In Nagaland, although fourteen languages are used as media of instruction, the government does not entertain applications for official purposes in any of them. However, arrangements for translation of material for publication are available in most minority languages of Nagaland.

The use of minority languages in mass communication is not in such a deplorable situation, though in this respect also their use is more restricted than in education. There are several constraints on the use and effectiveness of minority languages in mass media such as newspapers, radio, and television. As transmission capacity for television is more restricted than for radio broadcasts, it is in radio broadcasting that a breakthrough can be achieved in the use of minority languages. However, the amount of radio time and transmission capacity available at present seems to be inadequate to meet the demands of planning language use in the

complex multilingual setting of India (Dua 1980a). Neither is there provision for broadcasting programs in all the minority languages nor is there sufficient radio time for the minority languages in which the programs are broadcast. A similar situation is found in the case of minorities in Western Europe, where few minorities enjoy really favorable radio and television services in their own languages (Alcock, Taylor, and Welton 1979, 195).

The use of minority languages in radio broadcasts does not seem to be compatible with their use in education at the primary level. This is particularly the case with the minority languages in Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh. For instance, news and programs are broadcast in Tangsa, Noote, Idu-Mishmi, Wanchoo, Nishi, Adi, Apatani, and Monpa in Arunachal Pradesh and in Mahasui Chambriali, Bilaspuri, Sirmauri, Kangri, Kulvi, and others in Himachal Pradesh, but none of them is used in education at any level. In some cases, minority languages are used in education, but not in radio broadcasting.

It would be useful to consider the distribution of time and the pattern of program types, length, and quality in order to assess the relevance and utility of minority languages in radio broadcasts and their impact on language planning for development and use in education. Furthermore the minority languages may serve different functions. They may be used to interpret the economic, social, and political structure of the nation and thus reduce the isolation of illiterate masses and ensure their participation in the national life. They may, on the other hand, have value for

entertainment rather than for interpretation and preservation of culture. The patterns of minority language use and functions in radio broadcasts are further constrained by two factors. First, the control and organization of the programs and the key personnel in their production are more likely to be drawn from the majority community than from the minority, and this implies that majority attitudes and values are likely to get prominence in comparison to minority interests. Secondly, the news and programs broadcast in minority languages are overshadowed by programs in the majority language. A sociolinguistic survey of Himachal Pradesh shows that minority dialect speakers have less preference for programs in their own mother tongues than for programs in Hindi and English (Due 1980a).

Though some constraints on the use of minority language in radio broadcasts are not present in the case of the printed medium, there are other equally controlling factors that restrict the utility of minority newspapers and journals. In the first place, the economic resources and personnel competence required to run newspapers in the minority languages may not be available in the community. Generally financial support in the form of subsidies offered by the government to the minority papers turns out to be meager and inadequate or useless without a band of dedicated writers, journalists, and other professionals coming from the minority group. Secondly, effective mass circulation of minority papers is a rare phenomenon. For instance, among the newspapers printed in forty-two languages other than the languages of Schedule VIII, the circulation of dailies, weeklies, fortnightlies,

monthlies, and others in 1976 did not exceed 3,000 copies each, except in the case of Manipuri, Khasi, Nepali, Konkani, and Lushai.

The minority papers are also under subtle pressure from the majority language and culture. The minority papers are devoted mainly to literary and cultural themes, religion and philosophy, news, and current affairs. The restricted scope of the minority papers creates a vicious cycle. The educated minority speakers do not subscribe to the minority papers as their needs and interests are not catered to by the limited range of topics covered by them. The minority papers cannot cater to the demands of the educated minority speakers as they cannot compete with the papers in majority languages in terms of coverage of topics and circulation. In order to win more readers who may highly value the majority culture or may be favorably disposed to it, the minority papers are forced to give more place to the themes of majority culture rather than project the values of their own culture and religion. Under these subtle pressures and constraints, the role of the minority newspaper in promoting the use and development of minority languages in transmitting the knowledge and values of their culture, in strengthening cultural identity and literary creativeness, and in developing political awareness and group solidarity may be either minimal or rendered ineffective.

DEVELOPMENT OF MINORITY LANGUAGES

The range and the complexity of problems in the development of minority languages are closely related to their use in education, mass communication, and administration, their sociolinguistic contexts, and the relationship between them and the majority languages.

One of the major problems in the development and use of minority languages is the necessity of devising a writing system as most of them are nonliterate languages with no tradition of writing. There are four alternatives available in choosing a script. Two choices relate to selecting Devanagari or Roman script for the minority languages. The case for and against them has been argued in the broader context of adopting a single script for all major Indian languages as well as in the context of minority languages (Daswani 1975; Pattanayak 1979; Ray 1963). The third choice involves the adoption of any one of the script systems used for writing the major regional languages. It has been argued that the adoption of the dominant script of the regional language would be in the interest of the minority language spoken in the particular state or region for socioeconomic and educational reasons (NCERT 1967; CIIL 1971; DeSilva 1975; India 1966). Finally, an existing indigenous script can be adopted for the minority language. Each choice involves some modification in the script system to make it suitable for the minority language in question, and each has its own advantages and disadvantages.

The issue of selecting any particular script system for

any minority language cannot be simply decided on the basis of technical, educational, or economic reasons. The script may be considered as a symbol of separate identity for the minority group as well as of the distinctiveness of the language. Furthermore, it has so much religious and emotional significance that it can easily be politicized, making any rational choice extremely difficult. We can illustrate the complexity involved in selecting a script system for a minority language by two specific cases.

The Assamese script was being used for the minority language Bodo in Assam. The conflict between Bodo speakers and Assamese regarding the sharing of socioeconomic advantages in the development of the state became associated with opposition to the Assamese script by the Bodo speakers. The script issue assumed central importance in the conflict, leading to violence. Ultimately the prominent members of the Bodo community were persuaded to accept the Devanagari script as an alternative solution, though there are still some Bodo speakers who want to use the Roman script.

The other case, related to Santhali speakers, is more complex. Santhali speakers are found in four states, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, and West Bengal. We will have to adopt four script systems if we follow the principle that the script of the regional language should be adopted for the minority language for socioeconomic and educational reasons. Some groups among the Santhali speakers favor adopting any one of the three scripts of indigenous origin. Again in terms of social divisions and religious affiliations, some Santhali speakers want to adopt Roman script and others are in favor

of Devanagari script. The choice of one script from among the indigenous, Devanagari, and Roman scripts would help in the process of social mobilization and group solidarity and go a long way toward promoting the use and development of the Santhali language. This alternative has been suggested by the commissioner of linguistic minorities. However, the governments of Assam, Bihar, Orissa, and West Bengal have objected to this suggestion for administrative, socio-economic, and educational reasons. Thus the situation remains as it is, making any concerted efforts extremely difficult in the use and development of Santhali language by Santhali speakers spread through different states.

Another significant problem regarding the development of minority languages concerns codification and standardization. In several situations we find that a minority language shows minor phonological and grammatical variations due to historical, geographical, cultural, or other reasons. For instance, Gondi, which is spoken in Madhya Pradesh, shows at least five district varieties in terms of distinctive phonological, grammatical, and lexical features (Natarajan forthcoming). In some cases, several distinct dialect varieties are recognized, as we find in Himachal Pradesh or Arunachal Pradesh.

Wherever minority languages show dialect variation in terms of social, regional, or ethnic factors, there are three alternatives open in the process of codification and standardization. We may select one variety as the base form for graphization and standardization. This may create competition and rivalry among different dialect groups, making any choice extremely difficult. As opposed to the unitary base

variety, we may accept all varieties for the purpose of standardization. This will lead not only to a multiplicity of minority languages but also to distribution of resources in the development of several varieties and comparatively slow standardization in each case. The third alternative, referred to as the compositional thesis, would be to select and blend elements from different dialects. This would involve the creation of a variety that would be somewhat arbitrary and artificial and may not be acceptable to various dialect groups of the community. Thus, each alternative has its own advantages and disadvantages, and the various minority dialect groups may show acute differences of opinion in adopting any alternative solution.

The differences may be further aggravated by lack of established and authoritative institutions or antagonistic and mutually exclusive positions that might be taken on the issues. For instance, Price (1964, 1979) showed that the attempts made since the early nineteenth century to codify modern Occitan for literary purposes "led to the establishment of two very different standardized varieties of the language, based on mutually exclusive principles (unitary and compositional respectively), and regrettably to a certain amount of antagonism between the supporters of rival system" (Price 1979, 32).

Once a decision is taken regarding the writing system and the base form for the standardization and codification of the minority language, the problems of vocabulary expansion and development of suitable forms of discourse become comparatively easier, though conflicting tendencies may also be

found in tackling these problems. In particular, different sources of vocabulary expansion have created conflicting currents of opinion not only in the case of quickly developing major Indian languages but also in the case of minority languages. There is likely to be an influx of borrowings in minority languages from the regional languages or from Hindi and English. A survey of active recall vocabulary among Tripuri-speaking children shows that while children in the 4+ age group use almost no loan words from Bengali, the 8+ and 10+ age groups not only use a number of Bengali content words but also structural words for who, which, until, numerals, and color terms. In preparing textbooks it would be useful to incorporate such loan words.

But caution is necessary here. If we heavily rely on borrowings in the expansion of the lexical stock of a minority language, it may create a feeling among the minority-language speakers that the language is inferior and inadequate. This may hasten the process of what is termed "alloglotticization." Price (1979, 34) has noted specific examples of this process such as "anglicisation in Wales, Ireland and Scotland, gallicisation in Brittany and other French provinces and germanicisation in the Romanish Valleys." On the other hand, if the minority language planners give too much emphasis to the native resources for lexical expansion, they may widen the gulf not only between the spoken and written forms of the language but also between the minority language and the majority language. This may result in making the minority language more difficult to learn and use and alienate the sympathies of the common speakers.

DIRECTION OF CHANGE

Minority communities are generally subject to pressures of change both within their own communities and in the society as a whole. It has already been pointed out that educated speakers of the minority community may be assimilated by the majority language and culture for socioeconomic reasons. For similar reasons, the members may be under constant pressure of immigration or acculturation. Again, they may be divided in their opinion regarding the economic, social, administrative, and educational advantages in the use of their language. When the elite members of the community are divided among themselves due to their self-interest, they cannot provide any leadership for social and political mobilization conducive to the growth and maintenance of their language and culture. Under such conditions, even if there are marked objective differences between the minority and majority language and culture, they become insignificant, paving the way for acculturation and assimilation.

External pressures in the society as a whole govern and regulate the forces of change within the minority community and may prove too strong to withstand. They are the product of the modern, centralized, and rapidly industrializing societies which favor the expansion of standardized national languages at the cost of minor languages. Given a multiplicity of languages, minor languages may be considered an obstacle to trade, mobility of labor, and development of technology and business. National networks of mass communication, education, and administration are encouraged through

the use of standardized national languages to facilitate uniformity of ideology and culture and centralized planning for economic development and national modernization. These generate and support the processes of acculturation and assimilation that pose a grave threat to the survival of minority languages and cultures. In a recent survey, Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter (1977) have drawn attention to the detrimental effect of the modern, centralized societies on underprivileged minority languages. They show how the functions of the minority languages are at first reduced to religion and the home and how the functional domains of the majority languages are extended through mass media and education, leading to penetration into private domains and ultimately to the loss of minority languages. The rapid loss of the minor languages of the immigrant and native populations in the United States under the pressures of government policy and centralized modern society is too well known to be repeated here. This has given rise to the policy of bilingual education. It has become clear that unless the minority and majority languages perform complementary roles in both private and public domains, the survival of minority languages will always be in danger under the pressures of the standardized national language and a rapidly changing society.

In view of the forces of change within the minority community and in the society as a whole, the legal and constitutional protection of minority languages may not prove adequate for their development and use. The equality of minority and majority languages in terms of legal and consti-

tutional provisions will prove vacuous unless it is accompanied by economic and social equality. Alcock (1970) draws attention to the crux of the problem when he remarks that "there was no greater inequality than to treat equally unequal things." He goes on to say that if an effective socioeconomic equality between the minority and majority community is to be achieved "the minority should have the facility and possibility of satisfying its own interests and spiritual, cultural, economic, administrative, and political needs with means as effective as those by the majority." In order to achieve this goal, a differential treatment of minorities is considered essential for establishing an equilibrium of power and status between the majority and minority communities. The concept of equality along with a measure of differential treatment has been accepted by UNESCO as an essential component in the definition of linguistic and ethnic minorities, which was considered a sociological rather than a legal definition in the majority opinion of the subcommission.

CONCLUSION

We have considered a wide range of complex problems that linguistic minorities and governments face under changing sociocultural conditions. These problems are discussed in relation to the standardization and development of minority languages and their use in education, mass communication, and administration in the context of the variation in the sociolinguistic condition of the minorities and the constitutional

safeguards provided to them for the use of development of their languages. We have shown that the provisions for the protection of linguistic minorities in the Indian Constitution provide adequate scope for initiative and freedom on the part of the minorities and enjoin the government to safeguard their interest in matters of education, administration, and recruitment. We have further shown that while the spirit and content of the constitutional rights of the minorities has been upheld, the implementation of safeguards for use of minority languages in education and administration has been slow, and the agencies to implement the safeguards have been constrained by various factors. We have discussed such factors of the sociolinguistic contexts of the linguistic minorities as their numerical strength, geographical distribution, linguistic boundaries, sociohistorical background, and intergroup attitudes from the point of view of their relevance for language use and development and the effective utilization of constitutional safeguards. As regards the use of minority languages in education, we have shown the implication of the duration of their use and function in the educational structure, the availability of trained teachers and textbooks, the nature of the content of curriculum, the intergroup attitudes towards education for educational policy and methodology, and the growth of institutions for their development and use. Their use in administration and mass communication has been found to be constrained by economic, administrative, and sociocultural factors. As regards the development of minority languages, we have discussed the complex issues involved in the selection of the writing system, the base variety and the sources of vocabulary

expansion for codification, standardization, and elaboration. Finally, we have shown that the forces of change within the minority community and the society at large may be too strong for it as well as the government to effectively implement the constitutional safeguards and develop the minority languages for use in education, administration, and mass communication. We have therefore argued for a measure of differential treatment along with the principle of equality for creating a pluralistic society based on the foundation of socioeconomic equality and coexistence of diverse cultures.

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THE MAITHILI LANGUAGE MOVEMENT: SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

Udaya Narayana Singh

In this paper, I recapitulate the genesis of the Maithili language movement in eastern India, discuss the reasons behind it, and look into its future directions.¹ Toward the end of the paper, I will also be concerned with an evaluative judgment (Brass 1974) concerning its successes and failures.

Most of the data presented in this paper have been collected from three sources: (1) the magazines and weeklies published in Maithili, in particular, *Mithila Darshan (henceforth MD), a monthly published from Calcutta for the last thirty years, and Mithila Mihir (henceforth, MM), a weekly published by the Indian Nation Group of newspapers, Patna; (2) tape-recorded or personal interviews of some of the leaders of this movement who have been actively associated with it for about the last forty years; and (3) resolutions passed and actions taken by thirty-odd organizations, including the following prominent groups: Maithil Mahasabha, Maithili Sahitya Parishad, Mithila Samiti, Mithila Sewa Sangha, Mithila Kranti Doot (all from Darbhanga), Chetana Samiti (Patna), Vidyapati Parishad (Sindri), Vidyapati Gosthi (Patratu), Maithili Sansad (Mython), Akhil Bharatiya Maithili Sansthan (Saharsa), Maithili Parishad; (Dalmiyanagar); and

from a few organizations formed outside Bihar as formidable pressure groups, such as: Maithil Sangha, Akhil Bharatiya Maithili Mahasangha, Akhil Bharatiya Mithila Sangha, Mithila Kalakendra, Maithili Prakashan Samiti, Maithili Rangamancha (all from Calcutta), Akhil Bharatiya Mithila Sangha (Delhi), Maithili Sahitya Kala Parishad, Mithila Sangha (Kanpur), and Mithila Mandal (Bombay).

The region called Mithila has Nepali, Bhojpuri, Magahi, and Bengali (in the north, west, south, and east, respectively) as its neighboring speech-communities and Hindi as a superposed variation in that region. Maithili is now spoken in the districts of Darbhanga, Madhubani, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Saharsa, Purnea, in some parts of Sitamarhi, Champaran, and Santhal Parganas of Bihar, in some pockets of Malda and West Dinajpur in West Bengal, and in the Tarai of Nepal.

The story has it that Nimi, a king in the Tairabhukti dynasty, was once cursed by the royal priest, as a result of which he died. After his death, on seeing that there was no heir to the throne, the king's body was churned and thus a son called Mithi was produced. Mithi is said to have laid the foundation of the city of Mithila, which later came to be used as the name of a very wide area (Srutadhar 1968, 41-4). Misra (1976, 1, n3) reports that "the Bṛhad-Viṣṇu-Purāṇa (circa fifth century A.D.) defines the boundaries of Mithila as 'surrounded by the Kauśikī river on the East, by the Gaṇḍakī on the West, by the Gangā on the South, and by the Himālaya, on the North'" (see also Chaudhary 1976; Aquique 1974). We are told that Maithili, as a language, has been

mentioned even in *Āin-ī-Akbarī* (Subhadra Jha 1958, 1). At different stages, this language was called Desila ba'anā, Tirhutīā, Touritiana, Tirhuti, etc.

Historians of Mithila tell us that Akbar had granted what is now known as the districts of Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur to Mahesh Thakur, a Brahmin (Radhakrishna Chaudhury 1976; Upendra Thakur 1956; Jnanendranath Kumar 1933). It is claimed that until the eighteenth century, the Sarkar of Tirhut was an independent kingdom, but after the British annexation of Mithila and other areas of Bihar, the maharaja of Darbhanga was recognized only as a zamindar and was never accorded a princely status. Not only were there attempts to assert language and territorial rights for Maithili and Mithila, but also a national movement received patronage from the maharajas of Darbhanga--particularly from Maharajas Lakshmishwar Singh, Rameshwar Singh, and Kameshwar Singh. Not many people know that Majaraja Lakshmishwar Singh contributed 10,000 rupees to the Congress after its inception and gave a large sum to the National Fund even before that upon requests of the Rev. K.M. Banerjee, its president. He did not want to publicize these contributions, and these, therefore, were always entered as "donated by a Friend."² Maharaja Rameshwar Singh's contributions to the University of Calcutta, BHU, and to various Sanskrit institutions throughout the country were well known. It is he who had established the Maithil Mahasabha in 1910 to initiate a reformist movement among the Upper Caste Hindus of Mithila.³ Kameshwar Singh had also followed the glorious examples of his predecessors. In fact, they identified themselves with the na-

tional movements and with the struggle for independence to such an extent that "to bring about national integration, he [Lakshmishwar Singh] introduced and popularized Devanagari script which gave a death blow to the old indigenous Tirhuta script of Mithila but made Bihar a homogenous state to that extent" (Ramanath Jha 1968, 7).

However, it does not matter what is done to bind the heterogeneous state of Bihar into one unit; the fact remains that the administrative boundaries of what is now known as Bihar have always been artificial and arbitrarily drawn. It has changed at least in the following three stages: first, during the annexation of the territory west of Bengal in the nineteenth century; secondly, by the Treaty of Sugauli⁴ in 1816 when, after the wars with the Gurkhas of Nepal, a part of the Maithili-speaking Tarai was ceded to Nepal; and thirdly, in 1912, 1936, and 1955 when parts of it were given to (West) Bengal and Orissa.

In the 1971 census, Maithili was described in the following manner:

Serial No. 950. Name of the mother tongue: Maithili.
Basic Linguistic Information: One of the dominant speeches in Bihar spoken by a large section of population. It was recorded as a dialect of Bihari in the LSI scheme. Although grammatically nearer to Bengali or Oriya Maithili speakers have cultivated Hindi as their language of education and instruction. For strength of speakers and for currently appearing literature in Maithili it will perhaps be more practical to consider it as an important language of the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan family like Bhojpuri. (Nigam 1971, 154)

The figures shown for Maithili, Magahi, and Bhojpuri (for the

last, if only its speakers in Bihar are considered) are: 4,984,811 for Maithili, 2,818,602 for Magahi, and 7,842,722 for Bhojpuri. The Maithili enthusiasts would, however, claim that the correct number is twenty-five million, and not five million. Paul Brass (1974, 66), following Gait's criteria, has shown that the actual figure may be around sixteen million.⁵ Whatever the actual figure, it is true that the figures projected in the census reports are not dependable and are, rather, bewildering. For instance, while in 1951, the Bihari languages were shown to be spoken by 0.29 percent of the state population as against 80.74 percent Hindi,⁶ in the 1961 census, the former was 44.30 percent as against 35.39 percent Hindi. (For a detailed discussion, see Brass 1974). It may be noted here that the Urdu-speaking population in Bihar in 1971 was shown as 4,993,284, that is, 8.86 percent of the state population. Compared to this, the figure for Muslims in Bihar is 13.47 percent (7,594,000) of the population. Thus the Muslim-Urdu correlation in Bihar is only 65.75 percent, and the returns for Urdu show a decennial decrease of 0.07 percent, compared to the national rate of decrease of 3.11 percent (see Pandit 1977, 52-53).

It is interesting to note that between 1951 and 1961, the working force in Bihar increased at the rate of 41.82 percent (compared to the all-India rate of 35.05 percent, and especially in the secondary sector (which includes household industries, other manufacturing industries, and construction), the increase in working force is amazing: 204.54 percent (Census of India, 1961, vol. IV, pt. 1-A(ii), 447). Compared to the first five-year (1951-55) plan, where expenditure on industry

was Rs. 1,038,000, expenditure during the second plan was Rs. 89,759,000, and this explains the increase in the working population in the secondary factor in these years. The per capita income in Bihar has also increased from Rs. 154.81 in 1951 to Rs. 196.44 in 1961 (compared to the national rate of Rs. 250.3 and Rs. 293.2, respectively). But given the fact that Bihar has 10.58 percent of the total number of people living in India, although its land area is only 5.4 percent of the total, it would be interesting to know whether the fruits of economic progress are equally shared even within the state by the Mithila and other regions. It turns out that Darbhanga and Muzaffarpur have a per capita income of only Rs. 50 to Rs. 75, and only Saharsa (Rs. 100-125) and Purnea (Rs. 125-150) are better off, while Bhagalpur falls in the Rs. 75-100 range. Thus, if we compare these 1955-56 figures with the state or national figures given above, it turns out that the claims of Maithili movement leaders concerning the economic backwardness of the Mithila region are not incorrect.⁷

The major demands of the Maithili language movement included:

- (1) Maithili should be accepted as an optional (or obligatory for the students in north Bihar) subject as well as medium of instruction in primary education;⁸
- (2) Maithili should be accepted as a subject in the universities;
- (3) there should be a Mithila university or a university in the Mithila region that will project the language, literature, and culture of Mithila;

- (4) there should be a Maithili Bhasha Parishad or a Maithili Academy in Patna along the lines of the Bihar Hindi Grantha Academi and Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad;
- (5) there should be a radio station in Darbhanga to cater to the special needs of the Maithili-speaking population;⁹
- (6) Maithili should be accepted by the Sahitya Akademi¹⁰ and such other official and cultural bodies;
- (7) there should be a separate state of Mithila; and
- (8) Maithili should be made the associate official language of the state of Bihar.

In addition to these, there were a number of minor demands, too, many of which were met in time.¹¹ These minor demands included publication of official notices and advertisements in Maithili, use of Maithili script in the names of railway stations in Bihar, introduction of a Mithila express, regular display or exhibition (to be organized by the government) of books and periodicals published in Maithili, and so on.

In this and the following paragraphs, I will discuss, in the order given above, the reactions to the major demands. As an expression of gratitude to the maharaja of Darbhanga, who gave a huge grant to the University of Calcutta, Maithili language and literature as a subject found a place in the Modern Indian Languages Department of this university in 1918.¹² In the early 1950s when the university closed this department, the Maithili organizations in Calcutta protested (MD, January 1954.5), and in the first quarter of 1968, Calcutta University started allowing pupils to take Maithili as a subject again because of the pressure.

It may be recalled that in 1950, Patna University was the only university in Bihar, and it was in this year that it started full-fledged courses in Maithili as a subject at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. A beginning was, however, made as early as in 1938 (Das 1971, 7). It may be noted here that in 1914, in the annual meeting of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan in Bhagalpur, a resolution was passed that since Hindi was the mother tongue of Bihar, the medium of primary education should be Hindi (Rajmohan Jha 1979, 38).

The question of recognizing Maithili as a subject as well as a medium of instruction at the primary level was raised first in 1925, when a few cultural organizations made this demand, and again in 1929-30, when the case was taken up by the Mithila magazine group (Das 1971, 5-8). One Mr. Fawcus, an English D.P.I., visited the Mithila region in 1931 to find out about the popular support behind this demand, but he decided that Maithili would be accepted as a medium of instruction only after it was accepted by Patna University. In 1940, the demand was met in principle, but the administration at different levels either blocked or discouraged the people concerned in actual implementation of this program.

As far as secondary education was concerned, following a central government directive in 1967, the Bihar government decided to carry out instruction in minority languages (under which it included Maithili, Bengali, Oriya, Urdu and a few Austriac tongues), but the Seventeenth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India (1976, 33) tells us that by 1966-67, Maithili could be offered only as a subject at the secondary level. The Bihar Text-book Corporation

Limited published in the next few years books on Maithili language and literature for classes I to VII (ibid., 35). Maithili could now be offered as a subject at all levels of education, and as of July 1972 (see editorial, MD) even the Public Service Commission of Bihar recognized Maithili as a subject. Professor Amarnath Jha, during his tenure as the chairman of the Union Public Service Commission (UPSC), made efforts to include Maithili as an optional subject in the public examinations, but with his sudden demise the proposal was shelved.

After 1950, a number of universities were established in Bihar, and three of them were in the Mithila region (Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, and Muzaffarpur), but all these were created while ignoring the demands for a Mithila university. These universities included the following:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Place</u>
1952	Bihar University	Muzaffarpur
1960	Bhagalpur University	Bhagalpur
1960	Ranchi University	Ranchi
1961	K.S. Darbhanga Sanskrit University	Darbhanga
1962	Magadh University	Gaya

The demand for a separate Mithila University was first put forward by different social and cultural organizations, and in 1947, supporters of this cause even formed a Mithila University Committee. But nothing happened until 1967, when during the first non-Congress ministry in Bihar, it was rigorously pressed. Under pressure, the minister for education of the state government accepted the demand in principle

(see Indian Nation, 9, 16, 24 April and 1 June 1967) and agreed to place a proposal before the University Grants Commission (UGC). In 1968, a UGC committee visited Darbhanga and other places and suggested that the K.S. Sanskrit University in Darbhanga be converted into Mithila University. Later, in early 1972, Kedar Pandey, a non-Maithil chief minister of Bihar,¹³ announced in the assembly that the preparations for establishing a separate Mithila University in Darbhanga would start very soon, and in May-June 1972 a proclamation of Governor Debakanta Barua to this effect was issued (MD, June 1972, 2). But it was only in the middle of 1975 that the university was established and was named after L.N. Misra, a popular political leader from Mithila who was brutally murdered a few months before its institution. However, in September 1977, during the Janata regime, it was renamed Mithila University, deleting the prefix 'L.N.'¹⁴ Initially, the new university faced a number of problems, but with the grant of the royal secretariat and library of the maharaja of Darbhanga in August 1975, many of its problems were solved.

At this point, in 1975, preparations were afoot to start a Bhojpuri Academy, and therefore the Maithili pressure groups in the government, led by Jagannath Misra, who became the chief minister in 1976, forced the government to establish a Maithili Academy in Patna. Immediately afterwards, as if to maintain the balance, a Magahi Academy was also started. In 1978, the government of Karpuri Thakur wanted to establish separate academies for Santhali, Mundari, Ho, and Kuduk to diffuse the tension in the Jharkhand region,¹⁵ but the pro-

posals was shelved, and now that Jagannath Misra of the Congress (I) is back in power, this seems to be a remote possibility.¹⁶

It may be noted here that although in 1971 the Bihar government ordered the departmental and district officials to issue important notices, rules, and notifications in minority languages in those areas where speakers of these languages constitute 15 percent or more of the population, "it seems that no headway has been made so far in this direction" (Seventeenth Report of the Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities in India, 1976, 37). In 1976, Jagannath Kaushal, the governor of Bihar, and Jagannath Misra, the chief minister, for the first time, established the tradition of using Maithili in government notices and advertisements by publishing (on 7 December) the Flag Day appeal in Maithili (see MD, editorial of January 1977; MM 26 December 1976).

We may mention here that because Jagannath Misra, the present Maithili-speaking chief minister, has all along lent his support to the Maithili-language movement, the Hindi enthusiasts in the state are apprehensive. Thus, in the Sunday Standard of 12 April 1980, these fears were voiced (see news item, "Dialects pose threat to Hindi," p. 4). Noticeably, the Bihar Hindi Sahitya Sammelan is now practically defunct, and a three-crore, five-year plan of the Bihar Hindi Pragati Samiti (established in 1976) has been rejected. The Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad is said to be reeling under the impact of political appointments. The performance of Bihar Hindi Grantha Adcademy does not seem to be much better either. To top it all, by the end of 1976, after a gap of a few years,

English was reintroduced in the educational system in Bihar to undo Karpuri Thakur's action in this regard (MD, January 1977, editorial). And if the newspaper report mentioned earlier is correct, since this decision, the number of English-medium schools has gone up in Patna by 10,000. The number may be exaggerated, but the trend definitely threatens Hindi supremacy in Bihar.

The demand for a radio station was an outcome of Patna AIR's refusal to allot more than an hour a week for programs in Maithili. The appeals were made by prominent scholars and citizens in 1948 and again in 1952, and a pamphlet in support of this demand was published in 1956 (see Jayakanta Misra 1956) to make the Information and Broadcasting Ministry of the central government aware of this demand. All this happened only after the state showed unwillingness to go beyond the provision of existing facilities for Maithili programs. In 1964, a delegation including members of parliament such as Yogendra Jha (CPI) and Yamuna Prasad Mandal (Congress) supported the demand and presented the case before Indira Gandhi, then the minister for information and broadcasting. In 1965-66, Chetana Samiti launched a movement in its support, and finally when a Maithil (Satyanarayan Sinha) became the minister in the center of information and broadcasting, he visited Darbhanga to discuss this matter (see MM, 24 July 1976) and assured that a separate radio station of 10 kilowatts would be opened there.¹⁷ There was then a demand to make it into a 100-kilowatt station to cater to the needs of the Maithili speakers. In the meantime, radio stations were set up in Ranchi and Bhagalpur. Finally, by the middle of

the 1970s, the demand for a separate AIR station in Mithila was acceded to.

The demand to include Maithili in the list of languages recognized by the Sahitya Akademi, the national academy of letters, was first formally made by Dr. Jayakanta Misra on the 31st of March, 1963, in a memorandum called "The case of Maithili before the Sahitya Akademi," although such a demand had been raised earlier. Before this, in 1947, the Poets, Playwrights, Essayists, Editors, Novelists Club, or PEN, and its Indian branch had accorded recognition to Maithili (MM, 11 September 1947). The leaders of the movement quite correctly thought that recognition by the Sahitya Akademi would bring in government funds for the promotion of Maithili literature. And also, even though the Akademi is an independent body, recognition by it was thought to be necessary to remove the stamp of Maithili being described as a dialect of Hindi. This recognition, in later days, could be utilized as a precedent for other demands. Two statements that inspired the supporters of this cause most included the following:

Maithili is a language and not a dialect. . . . It differs from Hindi and Bengali both in vocabulary and in grammar, and is as much a distinct language from either of them as Marathi and Oriya. (Grierson 1909, 2)

Maithili is a language by itself, with its own special characteristics. It is a language which has a character of its own . . . By any stretch of imagination it cannot be described as a dialect of Hindi. It has a literature which goes back to at least the beginning of the 14th century, and down through these centuries, it has never ceased to be cultivated by its speakers." (S.K. Chatterji, as quoted in Babusaheb Chaudhury 1968, 2)

Before the case for Maithili was formally presented before the Akademi, almost as preparation for this, the following organizations were created: Maithili Sahitya Parishad (Darbhanga), Granthalays (Darbhanga), Mithila Samiti (Darbhanga), Loka Sahitya Parishad (Calcutta), Maithili Prakashan Samiti (Calcutta), and Tirbhukti Publications (Allahabad).

Apart from these organizations, a good number of journals and magazines were also started by different groups. Mithila, Mihir, Mithila Moda, Mithila Darshan, Mithila, Vaidehi and many others are instances of such efforts. Attempts were even made to publish a daily newspaper in Maithili in the early 1960s called Swadesh, but it soon had to be given up (MM, 13 July 1969, 6). Thus, when in 1963 Jawaharlal Nehru was called upon to inaugurate an exhibition of books and periodicals published in Maithili in New Delhi, he and others in the government and Akademi were amazed to see the tremendous amount of literature in modern Maithili. And, of course, the tradition of Jyotirishwara, Vidyapati, Umapati, and Canda Jha from the fourteenth century onward was well known. Jayakanta Misra and others had searched out the manuscripts of these and other works of ancient and medieval Maithili periods in the Royal Library of Nepal and in other places, and these works were later published. These were also exhibited at that time.

By this time, Jayakanta Misra's History of Maithili Literature in two volumes (1956) and Subhadra Jha's The Formation of Maithili Language (1958) had also appeared, which provided the much-needed detailed study of this type

and contributed to the standardization of Modern Maithili. Later, Janardan Jha 'Paramesh' (1963) and Ramanath Jha (1967) also contributed to the debate on the standard written Maithili. At this point, Satyanarayan Sinha, then the minister at the center had also lent his support to this cause (see MD, 1963, 47-51, reports).

Nehru, while inaugurating the 1963 exhibition, had agreed that Maithili deserved to be encouraged but expressed the government's inability to stretch the list of languages recognized by the Sahitya Akademi because that would mean additional financial burdens on the government. He said, "Nobody opposes the issue (of Sahitya Akademi). But the question is, if we publish a book, it is to be translated into seven, eight, or ten languages. If it is increased to eleven, the burden is multiplied. . . . Therefore, delay was there or still continues" (Nehru, as quoted and translated by Sinha 1969, 3-4). Nehru commented after seeing the exhibition that "This demonstrated that Maithili has been for a long time and is today a living language among the people of that area. The language deserves encouragement."

In the beginning, at the May 1963 meeting of the Akademi, a decision regarding the recognition of Maithili was deferred. But finally, the expert committee of the Sahitya Akademi met on 25 September 1964 and members S.K. Chatterji, S.M. Katre, Sukumar Sen, and Subhadra Jha decided to accord recognition to Maithili. The fifth member, Hajariprasad Dwivedi, was away at Calcutta on that day and could not be present in the meeting.

The statehood demand was first raised in a resolution of the Maithil Mahasabha in 1940 (MM, January 1942; also see Brass 1974, 53). It was repeatedly referred to in the lectures of the maharaja of Darbhanga between 1940 and 1949 at the annual meetings of the Mahasabha. Similarly, between 1952 and 1954, Dr. Lakshman Jha, a social scientist with a large following in the academic community, published nine pamphlets and undertook an extensive tour of the country to include as many Maithili organizations as possible in this movement.¹⁸ Some of these organizations went a step further to suggest that India should have twenty-two linguistic states, including besides the four Dravidian states, Mithila, Magadh, Jharkhand, Bhojpur, Awadh, Baghelkhand, Chattisgarh, Bundelkhand, Brajbhumi, Kurukshetra, Rajasthan, Punjab, Kashmir, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Utkal, Assam, and Bengal (MD, January 1954, 4).

It is reported (Brass 1974, 54) that politicians in search of a political base and platform utilized the statehood demand and that one of them, Janakinandan Singh,¹⁹ presented a memorandum to the States' Reorganization Commission (see Singh 1954). But at this point, the movement was very timid and the people could not be mobilized, as a result of which the Commission ignored the demand. However, the demand did have an objective basis.

We have already described the economic backwardness, poverty, and rich literary heritage. We have also presented a historical sketch which pointed out that Mithila had a more-or-less defined territory. To this, in the later days, one could add many other points.

In brief, the arguments given in favor of the demand for Maithili did not differ substantially from those for Andhra Pradesh or Maharashtra. These were the arguments that convinced the governments in India and elsewhere for other linguistic groups. In addition to these arguments, one could also point out that the administrative boundaries of Bihar were largely artificial and arbitrarily decided. Also note that male literacy in English in the whole of north Bihar (which includes two Bhojpuri-speaking districts, Saran and Champaran, in addition to Mithila) ranged between 0.32 percent in 1901 and 0.70 percent in 1931, and that among the Maithils, according to the 1961 census, the percentage for the same is merely 1.73 percent (Brass 1974, 92-93). The India Literacy Atlas (1978) tells us that Muzaffarpur, Darbhanga, Saharsa, and Purnea districts have 10.0 to 19.99 percent literacy, although Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts are better off in this respect. Also, between 1961 and 1971, the decennial variation in literacy rate is 0.08 percent to 2.50 percent as against a national average of 5.36 percent. The rural literacy in the whole of Bihar is 17 percent, where the female literacy is 1.66-9.99 percent only. These figures show that over half a century of Hindi education has not been able to accelerate the literacy rate in Bihar, especially in the Mithila region. On top of this, the unemployment rate in Bihar, and especially in Mithila, was very high and almost alternatively drought and flood affected north Bihar every year. The government, in the initial stages, seems to have done precious little to change such situations.

The demand for a separate state was soon given up because

it did not receive the kind of political support and mobilization of manpower that was needed to make it a success. Attention to this demand was drawn afresh in 1977-78, during the Janata regime at the center, when the talk of reorganization of U.P. and other large states was going on (see Ramlochan Thakur 1978; MD, January 1978, editorial; Gopal Thakur 1978). With a change of government, it seems to have died out again.

To press for the two other demands, namely, inclusion of Maithili in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution and recognition of Maithili as an associate official language of Bihar, the organizations in Mithila and outside have been trying relentlessly. The movement gained momentum only after 1956, that is, after the initial failure to get a separate state. The pressure groups became active before the 1957 elections and asked people not to support those candidates in north Bihar who did not support the cause of Maithili. Posters were pasted and handbills distributed, and different organizations tried to mobilize the people in different ways. The poets and writers were asked to write poems, street plays, stories, songs, and riddles that could be used during the elections to arouse the consciousness of the people of this region. This period saw famous slogans emerge, such as the one that roughly translated as follows:

There is fire in the matchboxes,
Will it light if not rubbed?
Will you ever get your rights
Without fighting for the cause?

This tradition continued until the recent elections for the state assembly, and in the posters and pamphlets the ideal candidate was characterized as a person who was supposed to have done at least the following: (1) deliver election speeches in Maithili; (2) print posters, pamphlets, and other materials in support of his candidature in Maithili; (3) promise to promote Maithili and work for getting a rightful place for it; and (4) promise to struggle for socioeconomic development of this region.

In the October 1960 issue of Mithila Darshan, a call was given to observe the 1st of December of every year as Mithila Day. The tradition of celebrating the Vidyapati Jayanti on a large scale had been established since the 1950s. Now, even the Chanda Jha celebrations began. In Pandaul, Darbhanga, on 3 October 1960 different organizations got together to form a Maithili Janaganana Samiti so that the census figures could not be distorted by interested persons to project lower returns for Maithili (see also Sewak 1960). Since then, the government has started granting symbolic concessions, and more and more political leaders and other dignitaries have started taking part in these celebrations. Quite often, they have voiced the demands discussed earlier from the rostrum but were quick to forget them once they got off the stage. For instance, Jagannath Misra as the chief minister on 16 November 1975 (Maithili Prakash, December 1975) supported the demand for a Maithili Academy and as a member of parliament had raised the issue of Maithili in the parliament in mid 1976 (MD, May 1976, editorial). Vidya Charan Shukla, the minister at the center, came to Patna to inaugurate one such

celebration in 1975 and announced that Maithili would find due place in the AIR network (MD, June 1976, 28-29). Nagendra Jha, then the minister for health, supported the claims of Maithili to be included in the Eighth Schedule while speaking in 1971 at the thirty-sixth annual meeting of the Maithili Sahitya Parishad in Patna (MD, November 1971, 8). On 3 October 1971, another minister, Kailashpati Misra, said in Saharsa that his party would like Maithili to be recognized as an associate state language (MD, November 1971, 28). Congress ministers of other states (such as Subrata Mukherji,²¹ then the home minister, West Bengal) have also supported the cause of Maithili.

The left parties also seized these opportunities to gain popularity. For instance, on 24 November 1971, the Communist Party of India took a mass procession of 15,000 people to Laheriasarai (MD, December 1971, 36) to demand a Mithila University and the inclusion of Maithili in the Eighth Schedule. Recently, Digambar Thakur, the (Janata) minister for primary education, revealed (on 22 January 1978, during the Vidyapati Jayanti at Calcutta) that the Bihar government will support all the residual demands of Maithili (MD, February 1978, 30).

At different stages, dignitaries such as Fakhruddin Ali Ahmad (the late president of India) and G.S. Pathak (a former vice-president of India) also came to take part in the Vidyapati celebrations to show sympathy for the demands of the Maithils. In 1970, the demonstrations, gheraos, and other acts forced Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to promise before a parliamentary delegation comprising Yamun Prasad

Mandal, Shivachandra Jha, Tulmohan Ram, Gunanand Thakur, and Kameshwar Singh that in the next session of the parliament the government would introduce a bill to grant constitutional recognition to Maithili. But she soon backed out of this promise, and then came the 1971 elections. On 30 April 1972, the proposal was raised as a private member's bill but was not accepted by the government (MD, October 1971, 9).

It is clear that since 1970, politicians as well as different political parties have paid more attention to Maithili (obviously to make political capital out of it; but, nevertheless, they did and that is important) and that some of its major demands were fulfilled only after this period. These demands included a Maithili Academy, an AIR station at Darbhanga, a Mithila University, Maithili as a subject in the Public Service Commission examinations, among other things.

While trying to evaluate the language movement for Maithili, Paul Brass (1974) commented that Maithili-speaking people had not so far been able to transform their objective differences from the rest of the people in Bihar as well as from the rest of India into a significant subjective consciousness and had thus failed in getting their demands fulfilled because of the following reasons:

- (1) Ethnic values are emphasized by an elite which has failed to communicate these values effectively to the majority and which was ambiguous about the priority of its identities between Mithila and India.
- (2) Internal processes of social mobilization have been very slow. Socioeconomic modernization has been almost nil there. In contrast, in all political movements, north Bihar has been in the forefront.

The political elites have chosen not to emphasize regional symbols in the state political arena.

- (3) Maithils outside Mithila are either absorbed by the dominant ethnic group of the region or are over-conscious of their language and culture and hence take a disproportionate share in the Maithili language movement.
- (4) Political action on behalf of Maithili has been minimal. The movement lacked dynamic leadership and strong organization. The Bihar government has thus followed a policy of symbolic concessions, granting sympathy and rights to Maithili-speakers, but no effective protection to the Maithili language and no effective implementation of rights conceded.
- (5) Religion has been the more powerful symbol in North India during the past century (for instance, the Urdu and Punjabi movements), and the Maithili language movement lacks association with religion.

While we agree with some of Brass's observations, we must note here that his comments were based on surveys and interviews conducted between 1966 and 1969 and that some of the unfulfilled demands that he quoted as instances of the failure of this movement were met in the 1970s.

Thus, as we now in 1980 look back at the movement, its successes and failures, we find that the situation has changed greatly in the last decade and that except for two major demands, all others have been acceded to. We could not, therefore, call the outcome of this movement a failure at this stage. Rather, we should closely watch what directions are given to it now that the Maithili-speaking chief minister, Jagannath Misra, is again back in power.

For the present, we would like to bring into focus a small

news item that might otherwise go unnoticed. It appeared in the Statesman, 12 June 1980 and it reads as follows:

Urdu Given Official Status in Bihar

PATNA, June 10--The Bihar Cabinet, at its first regular sitting today, declared Urdu as the Second Official Language of the State, reports UNI.

An official spokesman said the decision would be implemented through an Ordinance making amendments to the Official Language Act.

The decision would, however, be enforced in six districts of the State--Sitamarhi, Madhubani, Darbhanga, Katihar, Purnea and Bhagalpur--in the first phase.

We may recall here that it is to be effective in at least four districts of Bihar where Maithili is the language of the majority. Let us wait and see how the Maithili enthusiasts react to this step.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to a number of individuals associated with the Maithili language movement with whom I discussed the state of the movement. Among them are Babusaheb Chaudhury, Prabodh Narayan Singh, Devnarayan Jha, Rajmohan Jha, Ramlochan Thakur, and Srikant Mandal, who have been very kind to me. I am also grateful to D.P. Pattanayak, E. Annamalai, B.P. Mohapatra, P.K. Misra, Subhadra Subba, B.M. Dahal, G. Sambasiva Rao, Joan Rubin, E.A. Afendras, Björn Jernudd, and Y. Hookoomsing for their comments and criticisms.

2. The dependence of the leaders of Congress upon this help is clear if we look into the letters of A.O. Hume writ-

ten to the maharaja. Consider the following quotation from Hume's letter of 20 March 1893: "I write to acknowledge the receipt through W.C. Bannerji of £611-9-7 the equivalent of your princely subscription of Rs. 10,000/- for 1892 and to thank you most heartily in my own name. . . . I cannot tell you what a weight this has taken off our hearts. . . ." (Ramanath Jha 1968, 6).

3. He, however, did not get along well with the leaders of the Congress at a later stage (see Ramanath Jha 1968; Rajmohan Jha 1979).

4. See Laksman Jha (1955).

5. The criteria include (1) all Darbhanga and Bhagalpur, including the present Madhubani and Saharsa districts, (2) 6/7 Muzaffarpur, (3) one-half Monghyr, and (4) two-thirds Purnea speak Maithili.

6. The projected figure for Hindi is 81.03 percent where the figures for Bihari languages are included.

7. In a recent article, Radhakanta Misra (1979) prepared a sketch of the economic condition of Mithila taking only Darbhanga, Madhubani, and Samastipur, the three core districts of the region, into consideration. This is taken from Radhakanta Misra's forthcoming thesis entitled "Primary Sector Income Estimate of Darbhanga District 1949-1971." According to this study, compared to an All-India amount of Rs. 180 needed as the minimum to survive throughout the year at 1960-61 prices, people in these areas earned only Rs. 80 annually. During the floods and droughts of 1966-67, it fell to Rs. 71. The people of this region get only 0.14 hectare of cultivable land per person. Although an Indian adult should consume at least 394 grams rice/chapati, 84 grams pulse, 281 grams vegetables, 281 grams milk, 56 grams sugar, and 113 grams of nonvegetarian dishes per day, in Mithila, one takes only 243 grams of rice/chapati, 26 grams pulse, 66 grams of vegetables, 41 grams sugar, and 113 grams of milk. Finally 56 percent of the people of this region are below the poverty line.

8. This also included, at a later stage, a demand for inclusion of Maithili as a subject in the Public Service Examinations of the state government.

9. This demand originated from an earlier demand of allotting more time for Maithili in the AIR, Patna programs. Toward the end of 1964, members of parliament, including Yamuna Prasad Mandal, Yogendra Jha, Shyamananda Misra, Rameshwar Prasad Sahu, Narayan Das, Bhola Raut, Md. Tahir, Tulmohan Ram, Rajeshwar Patel, (Mrs.) Ramdulari Singh, and Vishwanath Gahmari, handed over a signed petition to the information and broadcasting minister.

10. The demand for recognition of Maithili was never formally put before the PEN, although the latter did recognize Maithili.

11. There were many more minor demands. We may enumerate some more here: Muhammadpur railway station be renamed Chanda Jha station, after the great Maithili poet of the nineteenth century (MD, June 1967, 22-23); AIR stations in Darbhanga, Bhagalpur, and Ranchi must broadcast regular news bulletins in Maithili (MD, July 1972, 41); the documents, applications, and other governmental papers written in Maithili should be recognized at various levels of presentation (ibid.).

12. Sri Brajamohan Thakur and his associates were also supposed to have mobilized support for this proposal (Das 1971, 5).

13. It is interesting to note that one of the Maithili-speaking leaders of Bihar who was to later become the chief minister of the state (Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal) at one stage had announced that if he had the power, he would close down the Mithila University (see MD, July 1972, editorial). In this context, when in reply to a question of Nagendra Jha in the assembly, the non-Maithili-speaking chief minister of Bihar announced that the demand had already been conceded by the government, it assumed a special importance (MD, May 1972, editorial).

14. This fact was condemned by many and it seems that the original name will at a later stage be revived (see MD, October 1977, editorial).

15. See Sunday Standard, 12 April 1980, 4.

16. It appears that during his tenure as the chief minister of Bihar, Karpuri Thakur tried in all possible ways to discourage the Maithili language movement. One instance has to do with a demand for an impartial language survey of Bihar to be conducted by an unbiased body aided by the state government (and not by the census). Under pressure, he agreed to form a survey organization for this purpose but entrusted the task to Dr. Lakshmi Narayan 'Sudhanshu' (a sworn supporter of the cause of Hindi in Bihar) to be conducted through the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad (Narendra Jha 1968, 23).

17. In early 1968, Satyanarayan Sinha (by that time shifted to the Ministry of Health and Family Planning) had confirmed that the demand would be fulfilled (see Searchlight, 16 Februry 1968).

18. Personal communication from Babusaheb Chowdhury, one of the prime leaders of the movement.

19. Janakinandan Singh was involved in a factional fight in the Congress Party and had later formed the Jana Congress, which he eventually deserted to join the Swatantra Party.

20. See Singh 1954.

21. He expressed his support in a function organized at Calcutta on 30th April 1972.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING AND CENSUS IN INDIA

B.P. Mahapatra

The Nobel Prize-winning American economist Milton Friedman calls language the product par excellence of a "system of cooperation without compulsion, of voluntary exchange, of free enterprise." Friedman takes free enterprise beyond economic matters, saying, "Consider the development of the English language. There was never any central government that dictated the English language and set up some rules for it. There was no planning board that determined what words should be noun and what words adjectives. Language grew through the free market, through voluntary cooperation. I used a word, you used a word; if it was mutually advantageous to us to keep on using the word, we would keep on using it. Language grows, it develops, it expands, it contracts through free market" (Friedman 1979, 15). I am not competent to talk about economic matters, but I should imagine that if I produce a coin and you produce a coin and we mutually agree to strike a transaction free of any social concern or control, it is as primitive as the exchange of mutually advantageous words by two individuals. However, note here Jernudd and Das Gupta's (1971, 195) interesting recognition of language as a social resource and thus subject to national planning.

Whether language is resource or not, in no society and at no time has language development been completely left to the free market in Friedman's sense. There might not be a central government agency to control the growth of language, but there has been no dearth of powerful individuals and boards such as academicians, lexicographers, pedagogues, literati, grammarians, and learned bodies to keep effective control on the use and abuse of language. Neither has there been any lack of prescriptive literature to provide the desired orientation to the language course. English is no exception to this regardless of Friedman's view of it as a product of a free market. Even in European countries, national languages are profoundly subjected to language planning of various sorts (Haugen 1972b, 159-190). Furthermore, in most multilingual countries, it is not only a question of how to develop a particular language but also of how the various languages are to be planned without weakening the national fabric.

India is a multilingual country where hundreds of languages are preserved with various political and functional values. The question is: Should these languages be left to take their own course or should there be some thinking on how to direct them in a planned course of development? To answer this question we must have a clear understanding of the nature and function of various languages in the Indian setting. The language rights of the Indian people are part of the Indian Constitution. Munshi and Chakrabarty, who have gone into the details of constitutional privileges enjoyed by various languages, recognize two sets of languages, called

the official language and the regional language (Munshi and Chakrabarty 1979, 701-709). The specific provisions contained in the Constitution of India on the language question are to be found in Part XVII, entitled, Official Language. These provisions, Articles 343 to 351, are organized in four chapters: Chapter I, Language of the Union (Articles 343, 344); Chapter II, Regional Languages (Articles 341-347); Chapter III, Language of the Supreme Court, High Courts, etc. (Articles 348, 349); and Chapter IV, Special Directives (Articles 350, 351). To Articles 344(1) and 351 has been appended the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution.

More concretely, the Constitution guarantees the following cultural and educational fundamental rights. Article 29 guarantees the right of any group of citizens to preserve its "distinctive language, script, or culture." Article 30 further guarantees the right of all minorities, "whether based on religion or language," to establish and administer educational institutions, with the additional safeguard that the state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any religious or language minority.

To turn now to the specific constitutional provisions relating to the language issue, it is understandable that the makers of the Constitution were concerned with the role of English in independent India. The problem was to identify the official language of the Union. Hindi in Devanagari script was prescribed as the official language, subject to the continuance of English for official purposes for a limited period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution (Article 343). Article 345 clearly allows the

legislature of a state to adopt any one or more languages in use in the state (or Hindi) for use for all official purposes in place of English. Further, by Article 347, the president is authorized to direct that a particular language also be officially recognized throughout a particular state or any part of it for such purposes as he may specify on being satisfied that a substantial part of the population of desires that the language be recognized.

The Special Directives are particularly relevant in this respect. It is clearly stated in Article 350 that every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any authority of the Union or a state in any of the languages used in the Union or the state. Article 350A and 350B, inserted by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, direct that adequate facilities shall be provided for instruction of children belonging to linguistic minority groups and also that there shall be a special officer for linguistic minorities, appointed by the president, who will investigate all matters relating to the safeguards provided for linguistic minorities under the Constitution. Finally, Article 351 provides that it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style, and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

The Eighth Schedule originally specified the following fourteen languages: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. By the Constitution (Twenty-first Amendment) Act, 1967, Sindhi was added to the list. It is generally believed that the significance of the Eighth Schedule lies in providing a list of languages from which Hindi is directed to draw the appropriate forms, style, and expressions for its enrichment. It is, however, well to remember that the Eighth Schedule also pertains to Article 344(1), which provides for the constitution of a commission by the president to make recommendations regarding various important matters with respect to the language issue, including the language to be used for the proceedings in the Supreme Court and every High Court as well as for purposes of legislation (Article 349).

This then is the gist of the language policy in India laid down in the Constitution on the basis of which the two-hundred-odd languages are to be viewed. These constitutional provisions not only guide the fate of Indian languages at present but also provide guidelines to the planners as to how the various Indian languages are to be developed in the future. Constitutionally there are two categories of languages: (1) the official languages or the languages of the Union, that is, Hindi with a time-bound alternative like English, and (2) the other scheduled languages. There are yet other provisions for regional languages, the definition and extent of which are hardly clarified. Time and again supporters of regional languages such as Dogri, Konkani,

Maithili, Manipuri, Bhojpuri, and Nepali have made claims to have them included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution so that their future can be assured. A vocal protagonist of Nepali argues in the newspaper columns that "The Prime Minister was not right in rejecting the proposed inclusion of Nepalese in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution on the ground that it is a foreign language. As Mr. Pramode Dasgupta has pointed out, even Bengali should be excluded from the Schedule on that ground as it is the language of Bangladesh" (Statesman 1979). In a Bhojpuri protagonists' meeting, no less a person than Shri Jagjivan Ram is claimed to have said: "Hindi is not the mother tongue of any people except the city dwellers. The language which is actually spoken right from the borders of Darjeeling all the way to Punjab is the domain of Bhojpuri" (Ananda Bazar Patrika 1979).

These are only a few glimpses of various movements organized by linguistic groups in India for constitutional recognition. Therefore, although it may seem on the surface that the Constitution has laid down the language policy fairly unambiguously, the grievances are still too many. In interpreting the Constitution, the government no doubt has strongly put its foot down on the status of languages spoken by various communities. For example, on the issue of Manipuri/Meithei's inclusion in the Eighth Schedule, a prime minister seems to have argued that if we include Manipuri/Meithei in the Eighth Schedule, we may have to include another two hundred languages too. In another effort, the government through its language census has also vastly increased the

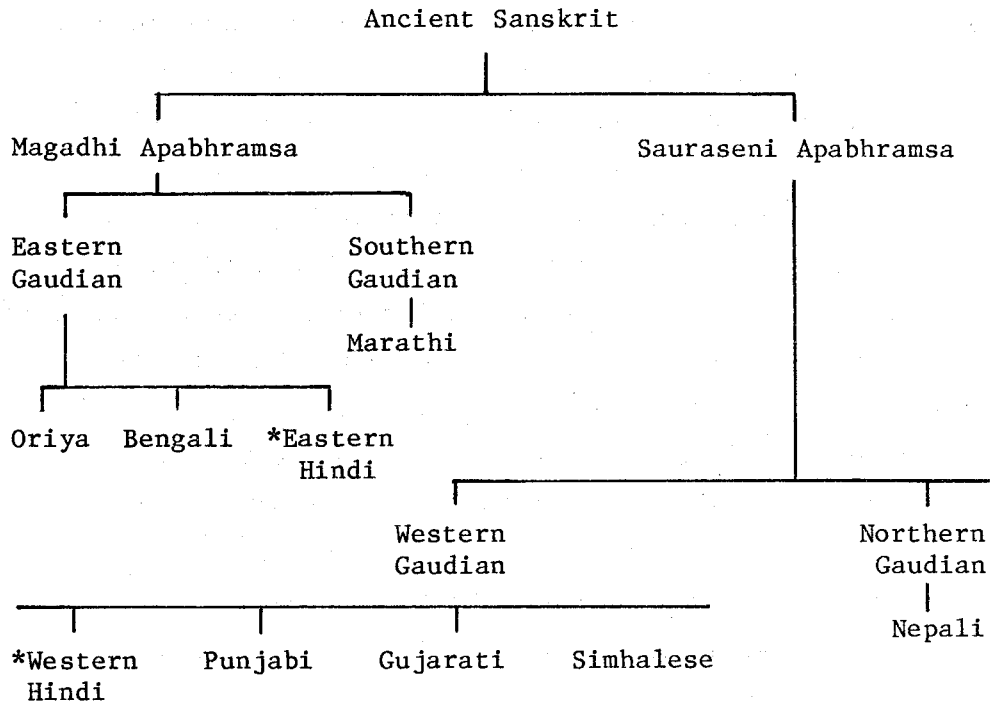
figure of scheduled languages to 95 percent of the total population in India and thus relegated the non-scheduled language speakers to a mere 5 percent.

Before we proceed further on the role of the Indian language census in the national planning of languages we may have to differentiate between two interrelated subjects, which we may call language policy and language planning. While the former is a projection of decision makers, the latter is that of an authority, either self-appointed or official. Haugen, discussing this point, says, "Planning is a human activity that arises from the need to find a solution to a problem. It can be completely informal and ad hoc, but it can also be organized and deliberate. It can be undertaken by private individuals or it may be official" (Haugen 1972b, 161). Regarding the subject matter of language planning, Haugen elsewhere explains that "By language planning I understand the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community." To this he adds, "Planning implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction derived by the planners. It means not only predicting the future on the basis of available knowledge concerning the past, but a deliberate effort to influence it" (Haugen 1972a, 134).

Considering that these are the fundamentals of language planning, we can now examine the Indian Constitution, which is the fountainhead of official language policy for solving the language problem. The Consitution provides that: (1) The official language of the Union is Hindi, subject to the con-

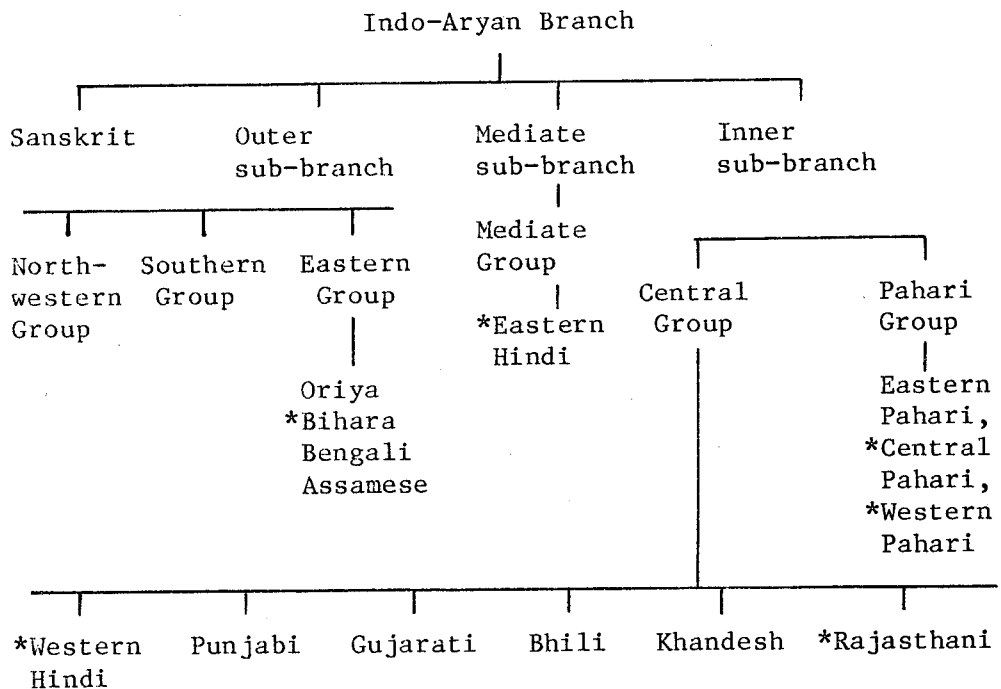
tinuance of English for the official purposes of the Union for a limited period of fifteen years from the commencement of the Constitution; (2) The script to be adopted for Hindi is Devanagari; and (3) it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of Hindi language and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style, and expression used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages. In these three points the Constitution provides adequate guidelines for both status and corpus planning of Hindi (Karam 1974, 112). In the first, it defines the status of Hindi and in the second and the third provides for graphization and modernization respectively (Ferguson 1968).

But what is Hindi? Although the Constitution of India has taken a very positive stand with regard to the Hindi language, the linguistics information available on Hindi is most baffling. In the present paper we will be mainly concerned with the policy and status planning of Hindi only through the Indian language census. The following is a brief account of the linguistic position of Hindi. Hoernle (1880), who divided Hindi into two distinct branches as Western Hindi and Eastern Hindi, derived them from completely distinct nodes and obviously did not recognize it as a single language. His scheme is:

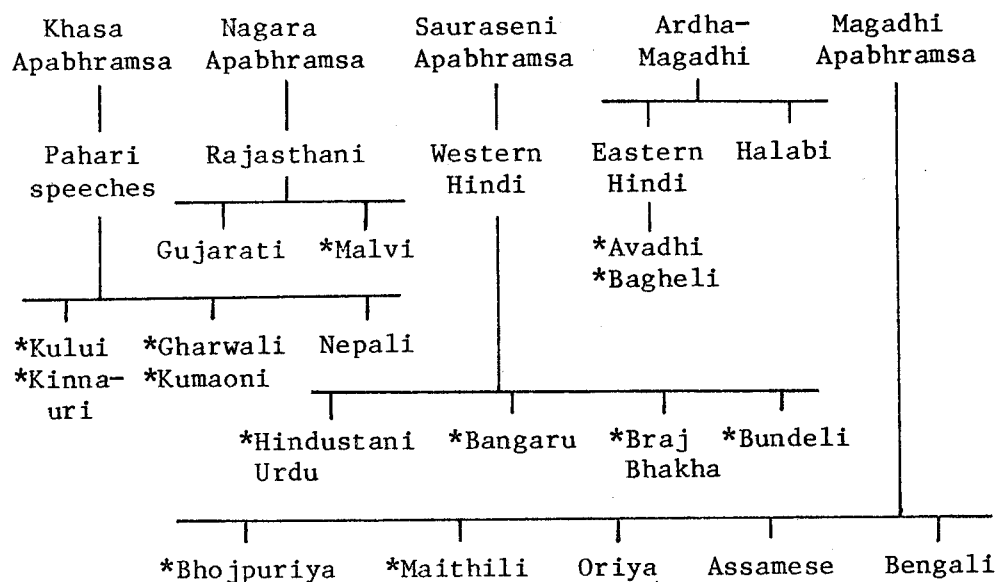


*The language/mother tongues marked with an asterisk were classified under Hindi in 1971.

Grierson's (1903) classification is even more diversified in assigning various nodes to Hindi dialects.



S.K. Chatterji (1960), who has gone back to different Apabhramsas to derive the various Hindi dialects, also does not assign to it a cohesive status but a variegated one.



Recently another attempt has been made by Cardona (1974) to describe that contemporary situation of Indo-Aryan language/dialects by arranging them in some sort of groupings. Recent census data of India, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka have been used, and a table has been prepared in which language classifications have been divided into broad geographical divisions and information on census statistics as well as official position of different languages in the countries concerned have been described. In the following table, only the portions relevant to this discussion are given:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Pahari (a group of languages): | Eastern Pahari - Nepali |
| | Central Pahari - *Kumauni |
| | *Garhwali |
| | Western Pahari |
-
1. Midland Group: Hindi

Eastern Hindi: *Awadhi
*Bagheli
*Chhattisgarhi
Western Hindi: *Braj Bhasha
*Bundeli

 2. Bihari (a group of languages):

*Maithili
*Magahi
*Bhojpuri

 3. Rajasthani (a group of languages):

*Mewati, *Ahirwati, *Harauti,
*Malvi, *Nimadi.

From all these classification schemes it would seem that linguists are very much at a loss to define the boundaries of the Hindi language and the linguistic criteria to use in classifying the 285 Hindi mother tongues returned in the decennial census of Indian territory.

There is yet another kind of evidence which Gumperz (1971, 15) puts forward with regard to the Hindi usage. He says:

The area in which Hindi is the regional language extends from Rajasthan and the eastern part of the Punjab in the west to the eastern borders of Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The standard spoken Hindi, which is current in the urban areas of this region, is relatively uniform. The literary Hindi literature has displaced a number of older literary idioms in which there had been literatures since the late Middle Ages. The best known of these are Braj Bhasha, Avadhi, and Maithili. At the present time literary activity in these idioms has died out, but the spoken forms on which this activity was based continue to be used by educated as well as uneducated city residents in the home and when among friends. Most city speakers of these dialects are equally at home in Hindi, however, and actual conversations are characterized by frequent switching from the dialect to Hindi and vice-versa.

This shows that although the linguistic substratum of a vast area comprising six states and two Union territories of so-called north India--that is, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar, Haryana, Delhi, and Chandigarh--remains unchanged, sweeping changes have taken place both in the political organization and sociolinguistic adjustment of the comprising population.

The language censuses of the last two decades (1961 and 1971) have projected faithfully the two distinct policy decisions with regard to the Hindi area, the 1961 based on the traditional linguistic classification of Hindi mother tongues, which we will call genetic classification, and the 1971 on the ongoing sociolinguistic changes, which we will call functional classification. Both these policies have a

profound effect not only in defining the Hindi area as such but also in considerably substantiating Hindi's claim as the single largest language of India, both in number of speakers and in geographical spread.

The genetic classification of Hindi mother tongues in 1961 which resulted in projecting the percentage of Hindi speakers in India at 30.39 percent of the total population incredibly fell to 29.65 percent in 1971 following the same genetic classificatory scheme of 1961 (see the provisional figure of Hindi in Population Statistics 1972). This immediately raised the question, What is wrong with Hindi? and ultimately the language tables based on the linguistic classification scheme of 1961 were subjected to a critical review. The government took an active role in reclassification of the mother tongues, and this took nearly seven years to reach a decision. In the foreword to the Language Tables, Shri R. B. Chari, then the registrar general, says, "There has been a change this time in the grouping of language/mother tongues" (Census of India 1971, foreword).

In consequence, exactly fifty mother tongues with speaker strength above 10,000 were freshly classified under Hindi to project the number of Hindi at 38.04 percent of the total population. These mother tongues are: Bagri-Rajasthani, Banjari, Bhadrawahi, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Bhojpuri, Chambeali, Curahi, Dhundari, Garhwali, Gojri, Harauti, Hindustani, Jaipuri, Jaunsari, Kangri, Khairari, Khortha/Khotta, Kulvi, Kumauni, Kurmali Thar, Lamani/Lambadi, Madhesi, Magadhi/Magahi, Maithili, Malvi, Mandeali, Marwari, Mewari, Mewati, Nagpuria, Nimadi, Pahari, Panchpargania, Rajasthani, Sadan/

Sadri, Sirmauri, Sondwari, and thirteen more undisclosed ones. It is quite apparent from this list that the linguistic classification of 1961 was thrown overboard in favor of a classification that we may call functional.

We have already drawn attention to Gumperz's observation that Hindi can be taken as the regional language all the way from the Punjab borders to Rajasthan and from Bihar to Madhya Pradesh irrespective of the speech varieties current in these tracts. Their present linguistic status is of little consequence. In a futuristic note, Kloss (1972, 255), disregarding their linguistic value, claims: "Whenever the language of the primary schools above the first grade is Hindi, and Hindi only, you might presume that the local speech variety is in the process of being dialectized and that within foreseeable future the speakers of the vernacular will consider their vernacular to stand to Hindi in a dialect-like relationship." Thus we reach a new phase of language planning in India and its implementation through the language census. Although linguistically only two states, U.P. and M.P., and the Union territory of Delhi could be called the Hindi area, socio-linguistically oriented classification has drawn three more states, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, and Bihar, and the Union territory of Chandigarh into its vortex. A comparative chart will clarify the situation.

	Genetic		Functional
	1961%	1971% provisional	1971%
India	30.39	29.66	38.04
Bihar	44.30	35.11	79.77
*Haryana	N.A.	88.49	89.42
Himachal Pradesh	10.63	41.59	86.87
Madhya Pradesh	78.07	78.92	83.30
Rajasthan	33.32	60.83	91.13
Uttar Pradesh	85.39	81.42	88.54
*Chandigarh	N.A.	55.61	55.96
Delhi	77.38	75.28	75.97

(Territories marked with an asterisk were formed after the 1961 census.)

This policy decision taken by the government of India at the highest level has only partially taken note of the underlying linguistic facts but is quite sensitive to social and political realities. For example, Urdu, which has linguistically little justification for being kept separate from Hindi, has been left alone. Needless to say, its inclusion under Hindi might have far-reaching consequences. At the same time Lamani/Lambari, which is a language mainly concentrated in the south, is grabbed without any qualms. Now that the buffer dialects are gone, it would be interesting to note whether Bhili and Khandeshi are now increasingly in danger. But in their unparalleled enthusiasm the policymakers and the protagonists may ignore the note of caution that Kelman (1971, 37) offers in most unambiguous terms: "A common language offers many advantages to central authorities in

their attempt to develop and consolidate a unified and cohesive political system. It does not follow, however, that central authorities in multilingual systems ought to direct their language policies towards the development or establishment of a common language. Because of the sentimental and instrumental considerations. . . . such policies may well create inequalities and meet with resistances and may hamper, rather than enhance, the unity and integration of the system."

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TOWARDS LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THAILAND: WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO REGIONAL DIALECTS AND MINORITY LANGUAGES

Prapart Brudhiprabha

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

Surely everyone concerned is now well aware that language planning--the study of language decision making and administrative and political efforts to find solutions to societal language problems (Rubin and Jernudd 1971; Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971)--has made new and greater demands on policymakers in Thailand. This might seem to be merely a tautological statement of the obvious were it not for certain ramifications that have as yet received only scant attention. The problem is that every concerned person talks and writes about it (e.g., Brudhiprabha 1976, 1978, 1979b; Ketudat 1979), but little that can be implemented has come out of all this.

As a start, I shall have to digress a bit and tell you briefly about our attempts to find solutions to language problems. Previously, the relevance of language planning in our educational system had never been brought to bear at the policy-making level. The question of language policy was formally considered at the Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages to Thai Students, convened by the Ministry

of Education, June 11-12, 1970. Many delegates came to this conference expecting to discuss nothing but English, which is the only foreign language taught widely in Thailand. But, for better or for worse, they ended up discussing Malay, Khmer, and various dialects of Chinese. Some of the invited delegates rose to defend or attack these languages with great emotion in spite of the fact that these issues were not brought up by ministry spokesmen. To this end, Noss (1971, 27) said:

Confusion about the identification and status of languages, and about the different kinds of national language policy, leads to . . . another obstacle to rational planning which might be called a political one.
(emphasis added)

Similarly, the University Administrators' Seminar on the Learning and Teaching of English at the University Level, convened by the universities and the Central Institute of English Language in Chiangmai, May 15-18, 1974, brought forward some deliberations on English language policy whereby the problem of planning was fully recognized. "If the seminar accomplished nothing more than this," Sukwiwat (1975, 90) observed, "it at least made the administrators and teachers aware of each others' point of view--for the first time, in the case of some universities."

A national language policy statement was proposed for the first time, I believe, during the educational reform movement in 1974. According to reports, there was a heated debate, but unfortunately the whole issue was shelved! Later, the final report mentioned in passing that a clear-cut policy for

the country's linguistic minorities must be made with emphasis on the mastery of the national language, which is Central, "Standard" Thai (Office of the National Education Commission 1976). Indeed, this emphasis on the mastery of Thai is a great asset for our ethnic minorities as Smalley (1976, 19) rightly stated: "Certainly education in Thai is most important for Thailand's minority peoples, but what is the best way to bring this education about?"

More recently and most importantly perhaps, the Seminar on Language Policy and Language Development and Teaching in Institutions of Higher Learning, convened by the Bureau of University Affairs, sponsored by the Ford Foundation and the British Council October 28--November 1, 1979, was indeed a forum of conscience on language planning in Thailand. A national language policy statement was proposed with respect to the national language. And regional dialects, minority languages, and foreign languages were, for the first time perhaps, given more than token recognition. Moreover, it was agreed that an autonomous body be established at the national level to make decisions on educational language policy and planning as well as the study of Central or Standard Thai, regional dialects, minority languages, and ethnic cultures (Bureau of University Affairs 1980).

From the historical perspective sketched above, it is obvious that during the past decade there has been "much ado about (almost) nothing" in Thailand in terms of the three putative stages in the study of policy-making processes, namely, policy appraisal, policy formulation and determination, and policy implementation, evaluation, and review (cf.

Gorman 1975). The aforementioned conferences are cases in point.

LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

The field of language planning has already posed many challenges for language and national development. Linguistic diversity in particular is a challenge to language education in multilingual societies (Yap 1978). Since language is one of the most important defining criteria for ethnic-group membership (Trudgill 1974), the problems of linguistic diversity and national identity and unity in relation to educational language policy and planning are very delicate. In the final analysis, probably the single most significant movement in the history of language education in multilingual societies is the development of the philosophy of unity with diversity (Brudhiprabha 1978).

Theoretically speaking, from the myth of the "melting pot" to the reality of the "salad bowl" a new approach to language education, generally known as bilingualism, arises. This approach, Saville-Troike (1976, 4) maintained, has its roots in

the demand by minority groups to the right to their cultural integrity, and a humanistic concern for both equal educational opportunity for all children and increased understanding and respect for the cultural diversity in our midst.

As a case in point, let me describe the approach of Thailand, where language policy has never been formally articu-

lated. In this connection, Noss (1965) correctly stated that neither the Thai constitution nor any official document makes a formal statement of general language policy. And ten years later, Smalley (1976, 15) had this to say:

In the earlier years of this missionary language planning (up until the early 1960s) the government was showing almost no interest in any form of education or language policy for the hill tribes of North Thailand....

Even today I think it is probably fair to say that in spite of the mushrooming government interest in the problems created by linguistic diversity as ethnic minorities threaten national unity, there is still no over-all government language planning for minority groups. There are, however, some elements of policy which emerge sometimes in laws and official statements, and more often in characteristic patterns of dealing with minority peoples.

Despite this lack of stated policy, however, it has been generally accepted that Central or Standard Thai is the national language (cf. Brudhiprabha 1976; Wong 1973).

Although our national language policy is unwritten, Ketudat (1979, 1) has recently asserted that: "National policy regarding the national language has been succinctly stated in the curricula at all levels. The policy concerning regional and minority languages has not yet been specified for lack of essential data." Since he has been appointed minister of education in the present government, it is hoped that the question of national language policy will be seriously considered in the course of time.

Since the question of present and potential government policy is indeed of crucial concern, it may be appropriate to quote Smalley (1976, 15-16) a bit further:

The fundamental orientation of such Thai government policy has been assimilative. That is, it has been assumed that everyone in Thailand should in some way or other, over a greater or lesser length of time, be assimilated into the exclusive use of Standard Thai. This applied to the speakers of regional Thai languages and dialects as well as the minority language speakers.

At this juncture, let me elaborate on the language situation of Thailand, particularly on the question of regional dialects and minority languages.

Regional Dialects

Notwithstanding her regional dialects and minority languages, Thailand is generally considered a virtually monolingual country (Brudhiprabha 1976). Geolinguistically speaking, however, the country is divided into four major dialect areas generally known as Central, Northeastern, Northern, and Southern. Unfortunately, there is no accurate figure available to date for the total number of speakers of each dialect. However, according to the 1978 demographic figures, there are 14,788,048 people in the Central plains of Thailand, 15,439,991 in the Northeastern region, 9,353,389 in the North, and 5,586,197 in the South. Hence the total national population is 45,221,625 (National Statistical Office 1979). Table 1 delineates the geographical varieties of Thai dialects with the estimated number of speakers.

Table 1. Estimated Number of Speakers of Thai Dialects.

Dialect	Language Family	Estimated Number of Speakers
Northeastern Thai	Tai	8,000,000
Northern Thai	Tai	2,500,000
Southern Thai	Tai	1,500,000
Lue and Yong	Tai	60,000 - 65,000
Phuan	Tai	25,000 - 30,000
Phu Thai	Tai	70,000 - 100,000
Black Thai	Tai	3,000 - 4,500
Saek	Tai	2,550 - 2,600
Yo	Tai	15,000 - 20,000
Yooi	Tai	2,500 - 3,000

Source: Brudhiprabha (1979a, updated)

From the figures in Table 1, it is apparent that the majority do not speak Central or Standard Thai. However, the literacy rate of persons ten years of age and over was 88.9 percent among males and 74.8 percent among females in 1970 (Ministry of Education 1973). Judging from these percentages, language does not seem to be a problem in Thailand, and indeed several Thai educators support this assumption (e.g., Panjaphongse and Tiensong 1976). But I am afraid that this is contrary to the fact. I hope to elaborate on this point later.

Minority Languages

In addition to the four major regional dialects, there are several minority languages belonging to some seven different families as shown in Table 2.

Indeed, the language situation in Thailand is quite complex, linguistically and sociolinguistically. Unfortunately, however, our language educators and policymakers have not, until very recently, recognized the language problems as such. I shall come back to this in the following section.

TOWARDS A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE ASSIMILATION

Against the backdrop of the language situation sketched above, let us consider in some detail the possibility of policy implementation. The general language policy of the Thai government has been assimilation-oriented. This policy seems to work very well for the Chinese, the largest minority group in Thailand. They have been assimilated by adopting Thai names, speaking and writing Thai, as well as observing Thai traditions and customs. The reason for this peaceful assimilation, according to Echikawa (1968), is perhaps the similarity of Chinese and Thai value systems.

Another major minority group in Thailand is the Thai Muslims in the Southern provinces. In contrast to the Chinese, the government policy for the Thai Muslims is integration-oriented. To my mind, this policy would have been success if the authorities concerned had seriously tried to implement it

Table 2. Minority Languages in Thailand.

Minority Language	Language Family	Estimated Number of Speakers
Brao	Mon-Khmer	?
Bruu	Mon-Khmer	?
Chaobon	Mon-Khmer	2,000
Chong	Mon-Khmer	5,000
Northern Khmer	Mon-Khmer	800,000
Khmu	Mon-Khmer	4,900
Kuy	Mon-Khmer	150,000
Lawa	Mon-Khmer	7,900
Mon	Mon-Khmer	60,000
Semang	Mon-Khmer	1,750 - 2,000
So	Mon-Khmer	20,000 - 25,000
Thin	Mon-Khmer	23,000
Mrabri	Mon-Khmer	50 - 150
Akha	Tibeto-Burman	9,900
Karen	Tibeto-Burman	152,900
Lahu	Tibeto-Burman	16,300
Lisu	Tibeto-Burman	10,500
Mpi	Tibeto-Burman	1,250
Chinese	Sinitic	3,600,000
Haw	Sinitic	20,000
Malay	Malayo-Polynesian	1,200,000
Moken (Chaonam)	Malayo-Polynesian	2,300
Meo	Meo-Yao	29,100
Yao	Meo-Yao	19,800
Bengali	Indo-European	

Table 2 (continued)

Minority Language	Language Family	Estimated Number of Speakers
Punjabi	Indo-European	500,000
English	Indo-European	
Vietnamese	Vietnamese	500,000

Source: Brudhiprabha (1979a, updated)

in a more constructive manner. But in Pitsuwan's (1980, 2) words:

Government officials and Thai policy makers seem to mistake "comformity" for "a sense of unity." Thus, all Bangkok policies in the past and at the present have been designed to impose "cultural uniformity" rather than cultivate a sense of mutual respect for the differences between the Malay Muslim culture, in all its manifestations, and the Thai dominant cultural norms.

At the same time, some Thai Muslims have attitudes that must be changed to implement this policy, for example, the belief that "learning the Thai language is a sin; its learner will become a Buddhist" (translated from Burutpat 197, 229).

There is no denying the fact that political violence in the South of Thailand at present is attributable to some basic cultural conflicts. To quote a bit more from Pitsuwan:

Efforts to erase any group's history, language and cultural identity always fail to win "the hearts and minds"

of members of that group. A threat to cultural identity is often perceived as a real threat to a group's physical existence. Resistance to cultural intrusion always leads to accelerated degrees of violence.

In addition, one of the most sensitive issues of the Thai Muslim question is the problem of administration, language, and education (Saihoo 1966). The crux of the matter is the introduction of the government's secular education into their traditional schools (pondok or madarasa). The pondok used to be the institutions for the training of such Muslim intellectuals as religious leaders (imam) and judges (qadi). Ever since the introduction of secular education, it is said that the graduates of the pondok have become mediocre (Pitsuwan 1980).

Perhaps, at this point, Abdulkadir's (1980, 204) remarks on schooling are worth quoting in full:

When he first comes to school, the Thai Muslim child who doesn't speak Thai can neither read nor write as well as other Thai children. He doesn't understand the teacher's instruction. The school environment is new to him. Not knowing the teacher, not comprehending what he is saying, and unable to communicate with him, he becomes quiet and lonely, apprehensive, and timid. His prevalent thought is how soon he can go home; and the feelings of not coming to school tomorrow loom large. Those who can endure may go on. But then, to add insult to injury, when they have learned to read, the primers are alien to their culture and environment. There are pictures of monks and monasteries, and the characters in the books are different from those in their community. Not only must the children endure all this, including the problem of pronouncing Thai, a different tongue from their first language; but the parents have to tolerate the instilling into their children the cultural heritage of a different religion. . . .

From those who manage to endure until they have finished Pratom (Grade) 4, only 5 percent go on to secondary schools. Still their background is somewhat shaky because they have not begun on the same footing. While the Thai children have no language problems, the Thai Muslim counterparts need several months simply to cope with what the teacher has said in class!

Those who have never attended schools, and those who have partially attended or quit half-way plus those who have superficially completed will sooner or later forget the Thai language. At present, about a half million people in the four Southern provinces cannot speak Thai (translation and emphasis mine).

Apart from the Chinese and the Thai Muslims, there are the noted smaller "hill tribe" groups scattered in the hills of Northern Thailand and in some other areas of the country as well as the people who speak Northern Khmer (including the Kuy or Suay speakers) in Northeast Thailand along the Kampuchean border. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that all these minority languages and dialects are, to a great extent, an obstacle to the success of speakers of these groups--both in education and in society at large. And, to a lesser degree, this applies to the speakers of regional Thai dialects as well. I submit that it is crucial enough to warrant formulation of a government policy in the direction of minority literacy, an approach that I have referred to as "bidialectalism cum appreciation of dialect differences" (Brudhiprabha 1978). I agree whole heartedly with Smalley (1976, 19), who stated:

We would like to see the Thai policy in language planning turn firmly to the fostering of bilingualism and planned bilingual education. The child learns to read and write his own language, preferably using a

Thai-based script with Thai letters insofar as the sounds of his language match Thai, making adaptations where they do not. He already speaks his own language, so his learning process is that of learning to read and write the language he speaks (the minority language), in a manner analogous to that of a Thai child who learns to read and write the language he already speaks (Thai).

If, and only if, government policy is well articulated and resolutely pursued and taken seriously by government officials--with a corresponding investment in time, money, and energy--will a more constructive assimilation of minority peoples result. On the contrary, a policy of forced assimilation can be disastrous and detrimental to Thailand. Therefore, it is advisable that the Thai government pick up where the missionaries left off in orthography planning for minority language groups, for example, for hill tribe languages in Northern Thailand and Northern Khmer dialects in the Northeast (see Smalley 1976).

Unfortunately, the question of writing those minority languages that do not now have adequate writing systems does not seem to be a policy of the government, at least for the time being. It is hoped that in time more and more attention will be given to this issue.

TO BE OR NOT TO BE?

What has gone wrong? Why has a recent flurry of interest in societal language problems not produced a viable solution? Several reasons account for the failure to produce a satisfactory result in educational language policy and planning for minority peoples.

One of the most important reasons for this failure is the lack of the psychoinstructional component in our current bilingual education programs. Although virtually all bilingual education programs include linguistic and cultural components (United States Commission on Civil Rights 1975), I submit that a third component, the so-called psychoinstructional dimension, is badly needed. As Vasquez (1979, 168) has succinctly pointed out:

In addition to the traditional dimensions of instruction in the child's dominant language and the inclusion of the child's culture in the curriculum, the psychoinstructional dimension is needed in bilingual programs. This dimension deals specifically with the psychological distinctiveness of minority (and, in some cases, lower-class white) students in bilingual problems.

Thus we come to a complete circle, and the same old nagging question arises: What is the best way to bring about education of ethnic minorities?

All in all, I submit that there is no easy way out of this search for a solution to the societal language program. I think our field has unfortunately been afflicted with false dichotomies. Most bilingual programs are doomed to failure because of our piecemeal approaches plus the neglect of such critical issues and variables as we have already discussed. It is probably fair to say that some minority language groups are not large enough to warrant the investment in time and money to develop teaching materials, to train teachers to teach bilingually, and so on. However, I find it more than a challenge; it is a way to answer Hamlet's question: To be or not to be?

Finally, although my proposal may strike many as utterly utopian, if not wasteful, I do believe that it indicates a promising direction towards minority language policy and planning in Thailand, or any country for that matter.

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LANGUAGE POLICIES AND INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES OF NEPAL

B.M. Dahal

S. Subba

Despite its small area and population, Nepal has some seventy-five different ethnic groups and, by one estimate, more than sixty-five languages. All this we find in a country with a population of approximately 13.5 million, distributed over 145,000 square kilometers. Approximately 37 percent of Nepali people live in the southern Tarai region, and some 63 percent in the hills and mountains.

Four language families are represented in Nepal: Indo-Aryan, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian. Austro-Asiatic is confined to a small pocket of Santal or Satar speakers in southeastern Tarai districts, and Dravidian to an even smaller pocket of Jhangar speakers in the southeastern Tarai. The overwhelming population of Nepal's languages (nearly 75 percent) are Sino-Tibetan, though native speakers of Indo-Aryan languages compose approximately 80 percent of the population. Nepali, the principal Indo-Aryan and official national language, is spoken as a first language by some 52 percent of the total population, according to the 1971 census, and is increasingly used as a second language by speakers of other languages. There may be an estimated two

million, at the very most, who are not at present functionally bilingual in Nepali. The second largest Indo-Aryan group of languages spoken is Maithili, spoken by 11.5 percent of the population, according to the 1971 census. Bhojpuri speakers amount to some 7 percent. The principal Tibeto-Burman language in terms of number of speakers is Tamang (approximately 5 percent of the population), though by far the most developed and influential Tibeto-Burman language is Newari, spoken by some 4 percent of the population, concentrated in the Kathmandu Valley.

Since there has been no comprehensive language survey of Nepal, it is difficult to determine the exact number of separate Tibeto-Burman languages, especially for the Rai-Kiranti subgroup.

As a result of population migration and mixing in settlement patterns, we find that many hill and mountain languages that once were dominant in their original area are no longer spoken by a clear majority of the population. In these interethnic contact situations, Nepali is the lingua franca, and as a result of language shift, it appears to be in the process of adding numerous first-language speakers. Bilingualism in Nepal over the last two decades has made truly enormous strides in the Tarai, resulting in a current sociolinguistic picture quite different from that sketched by Gaige in his major study, Regionalism and National Unity in Nepal, carried out in the 1960s.

A principal dimension of the sociolinguistic reality in Nepal is the sociocultural gap, that is, the prevailing distribution of power among a small number of highly urbanized,

politically and economically dominant groups (particularly Brahmins, Chhetris, and Newars) and the vast subordinate majority of agrarian and semiagrarian peoples and castes. This gap is reflected in various aspects of language development. For example, literacy is estimated at 20 percent of the population but is estimated to be as high as 80 percent among Brahmins, Chhetris, and Newars. Also, the vast majority of Nepal's languages, aside from Nepali, Newari, Maithili, and Tibetan, lack a substantial literary tradition. Only Nepali, Newari, and Maithili are in the process of modernization.

Nepali is recognized by the constitution as the only national language. Aside from one daily newspaper in Newari, the language of the media in Nepal is exclusively Nepali. Since 1965, Nepali has been the sole medium of Radio Nepal's domestic service. It is compulsorily used as the sole medium in the courts at all levels and, since 1972, has been the only medium of instruction and examinations for primary and secondary education. Thus children receive literacy training only in Nepali in the national education system. The government seems to be following a noncommittal policy of "benign neglect" toward languages other than Nepali.

Though the word "policy" has been mentioned, there appear in fact to be no clearly formulated guidelines relating to language planning as a whole or to the specific roles and functions of Nepali, English, and the numerous indigenous languages in the future development of the country. Moreover, English seems to be gaining deepening influence and prestige in various key development spheres, such as tech-

nology, advanced science and research, big business, and tourism. This influence is being promoted by a growing segment of the emerging internationally oriented modernizing elite. Comprising former feudal landlord families, neocapitalist business families, the neobureaucratic class of high government officials, and the Western-educated intelligentsia at Tribhuvan University, this emerging elite holds the real power today in Nepal and is the principal decision-making class. Nonutilitarian snob values associated with an English-speaking, metropolitan-oriented elite--English for "social climbing"--are on the rise. These developments in a south Asian nation where English only recently has become an important factor deserve scrutiny, lest the linguistic gap--mediated by English--between the broad masses and the small elite, a gap so familiar elsewhere on the subcontinent, take root in Nepal.

Though a clear-cut policy appears to be lacking, we can assemble a picture from various documents, statements, and decisions issued by government committees under two main topics: language in administration and the media and language in education.

LANGUAGE IN ADMINISTRATION AND THE MEDIA

Nepali has been the official language since the unification of Nepal under the Shah dynasty in 1769 and was formally declared the sole national medium by the Rana Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher in 1905. The question of its official sta-

tus was challenged only after the overthrow of the Rana regime in 1951, when various groups in the Tarai and the Kathmandu Valley campaigned for official recognition of Hindi and Newari. It is important to note that under the Ranas, it was forbidden to use Newari or other languages, even for literary activities. Newari writers were persecuted and jailed.

The 1959 constitution makes no mention of other languages whatsoever. Nepali is officially used in the army and the police, all central government offices, and in mass communications. In the villages in the Tarai, Nepali is used for written purposes, but other local languages are apparently also used for oral communication along with Nepali. In certain areas, it is possible that Newari and other languages may be used orally in panchayat (local governing bodies) deliberations, but written communications are exclusively in Nepali. In a few internationally oriented sectors and enterprises such as the Royal Nepal Airlines Corporation, English is also recognized along with Nepali, though guidelines are unclear.

LANGUAGE IN EDUCATION

The history of modern education in Nepal is conveniently divided into pre- and post-Rana developments, that is, before and after 1951. The period since 1951 is marked by key developments in 1960 and 1972. In the pre-Rana period there was little primary education, and most of this was in the urban centers and used Nepali as the official medium. A

special type of school called bhasha pathsala (language school) was established in 1901 by the Rana Prime Minister Dewa Shamesher to promote literacy, but this type of school was discouraged by later Rana rulers.

Significantly, the secondary education system was imported from British India, reserved principally for the children of the Rana upper class and their associates, and the medium was English. These schools were affiliated first with Calcutta University and later with Patna University. After 1933, the secondary system became independent of Indian affiliation and allowed Nepali and Hindi to be used in addition to English as a medium. Higher education, which in the Rana period was principally Trichandra College in Kathmandu, founded in 1919, used English as a medium. After 1951, with the establishment of democratic rule, there was rapid growth of schools at all levels. In the 1950s, Hindi was introduced as a medium in many primary and secondary schools in the Tarai. Due to the lack of teachers and textbooks in Nepali, many teachers were recruited from Bihar and U.P. in India. In 1952, the government declared Nepali a compulsory subject in all schools throughout the kingdom, and the National Education Planning Commission was established. The 1956 report of this Commission stated:

Nepali should be the medium of instruction from the 3rd grade on and, as much as possible, in the first two grades. No other language should be taught, even optionally, in the primary school, because few children will have need for them, they would hinder the teaching of Nepali. (Nepal National Education Planning Commission 1956)

This led to a vigorous movement against the imposition of Nepali during 1956-59 in the Tarai and demands for the recognition of Hindi as a state language. The Census Report of 1952/54 counted some 80,000 Hindi speakers, but the figure was reported at only 2,800 in 1961 and was reduced to zero in the Census of 1971. In the Kathmandu Valley, a movement for the official recognition of Newari also arose in the 1950s. After King Mahendra introduced the partyless panchayat system and dissolved parliament in 1960, the situation changed dramatically. He promoted a policy of Nepalization and encouraged strong nationalistic feeling among the people. After 1960, the movement for language recognition quickly subsided. The only sensitive issue arose when the government terminated broadcasting of news bulletins and music programs in Newari in 1965.

The National Education System Plan, introduced in 1972, brought a thorough revamping of the entire educational system. Nepali is recognized as the sole medium in primary and secondary education, but provision is made for explanations in so-called regional languages in areas where Nepali has yet to gain a wider currency.

Significantly, the plan classifies Newari, Maithili, Bhojpuri and Tibetan together with other foreign languages (for example, Russian, German, and Arabic) as optional elective subjects in general high schools (grades 8-10). In Sanskrit high schools, the optional language list includes Rai, Limbu, Gurung, Magar, and Tamang as well. Nepali in these schools is compulsory from grade 1 and English from grade 4, but other indigenous languages can be chosen as

optional electives only in grades 8-10 and only from the limited list of recognized optional language subjects. In vocational high schools, there is no provision whatsoever for optional instruction in other languages. Textbook materials invariably do not exist for languages other than Nepali, Newari, and Maithili. The government has seen no reason to develop materials in Temang, Magar, Gurang, Rai, or Limbu, even though they are recognized as "optional" teaching subjects in certain schools. This fact reflects the basic sociocultural realities of the dominant power structure. In higher education, the picture is somewhat mixed. Nepali is used even in the sciences and technical subjects up to the certificate level (12th grade). Above the certificate level, Nepali and English are both in use, although textbooks are almost invariably in English. In some humanities subjects (e.g., history), M.A. theses have been submitted in Nepali, though English predominates as the basic medium across the sciences and technical fields. In law, instruction is in Nepali throughout. English and Nepali are taught as compulsory subjects up to certificate levels and the diploma level in certain institutes. As major subjects, English and Nepali are taught up to the degree level.

Tribhuvan University is under a government directive to switch over to Nepali as the instruction and examination medium in all fields by 1984. This target date was originally 1974 but was later extended for ten years.

This seems to be a totally unrealistic goal since little has been done to implement this proposed policy. There is no recognized body within the university charged with implemen-

tation, supervision, and evaluation. Few textbooks exist in Nepali, and the budget allocated to the Curriculum Development Centre for instructional materials is woefully inadequate.

Most importantly, Nepali has not been systematically modernized and elaborated with respect to technical terminology so as to be able to deal with language needs for science and technology. The government appears to have no interest at all in systematically developing Nepali as a modern language along the line of Hindi, Chinese, or Bahasa Indonesia. Moreover, there is little public discussion on the relative functional inadequacy of Nepali. Though a Royal Nepal Academy exists, its contribution to the modernization and elaboration of Nepali has been limited and highly traditional.

The government has no agency to formulate, implement, and review language policy. No separate fund has been specifically allocated for the development of any language in the country, including the national language. The government assigns no budget separately at all to language development in the framework of its development programs. Though two centers--the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies and the Curriculum Development Centre under Tribhuvan University--are involved in research and publication activities related to Nepal's languages and textbook needs, their budget and staffing are limited. The Research Committee of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences has supervised a number of studies relating to linguistic problems in Nepal, but its budget too remains extremely inadequate.

Special mention should be made of the pioneering contribution of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in investigating a substantial number of the lesser-known and least-studied languages of Nepal during the period from 1966 to 1976. Phonemic summaries, glossaries, literacy materials, and various studies on syntax and phonology were published, though this work was discontinued when the government abruptly terminated its contract in 1976.

Some private organizations are devoted to the development of the Nepali, Newari, and Maithili languages and literatures. Significantly, Newari and Maithili are also taught as a subject to the diploma level, and beginning this year M.A. degree classes will be opened in Newari and Maithili in Tribhuvan University.

Private organizational promotion of other languages is embryonic and scattered. Among Tibeto-Burman languages, Limbu speakers seem, after Newari, to be the most conscious in efforts on behalf of language and culture maintenance and development. They are attempting to establish a Limbu press and have a long tradition in a distinct Limbu script. Many written manuscripts exist.

The government has published some information leaflets and booklets in Tibetan for the northern border people. One wonders why Tibetan has been singled out for special consideration as the only indigenous language other than Nepali in which the government has published materials.

In conclusion, let us emphasize some basic points:

Though numerous ethnic groups are now demanding more representation and influence in a power structure too long dominated by Brahmins, Chhetris, and Newars, demands for language representation have not been the issue, except for pre-referendum agitation in the Kathmandu Valley around the status of Newari. This reflects the basic glotto-political reality: Nepali has indeed established itself as the inter-ethnic and national language of everyday communication and is increasingly seen as a passport to participation in development and national policy, even at the village level, both in the Tarai and in the hills.

At present there is little pressure on the government to reconsider its language policies, though as ethnic groups continue to grow in self-awareness certain demands regarding language recognition and development may appear.

Though Nepali has established itself as the national medium of communication in most spheres, there is an urgent need to expand and develop its functional adequacy for dealing with modernized domains. This is hampered by the tendency--however unavoidable--among a certain segment of the Western-educated intelligentsia to use and promote English as the vehicle for prestigious communication in higher education, technology, teaching, and research. The deteriorating standard of English among the students seems to be of greater concern to them than the development of Nepali and other indigenous languages.

Some lesser languages are faced with the danger of extinction over the next decades. One or two (Dura, for example) have already died a quiet death.

It is time that we in Nepal formulate a well-defined policy for development that promotes national integration and modernization while recognizing the basic linguistic heritage. The role and functions of Nepali, English, and other indigenous languages must be more clearly delineated. Is the promotion of the more than fifty lesser languages of the country--languages spoken as a mother tongue by nearly half of the population--compatible with a program to promote national integration and modern development? Can some modus be found to integrate our diverse ethnic groups and bring them into the mainstream while encouraging their ethnic identity and self-image, rather than ignoring them as does the present policy?

Nepal remains one of the least developed and most ethnically diverse countries in Asia. A formula should be found that will promote national unity while respecting linguistic and ethnic diversity. This is the only sound path to national integration and development. One first major step might be strong governmental commitment to bilingual education in the primary schools. Unfortunately, even in intellectual circles, there is little serious discussion about the necessity and feasibility of such a new major step in language policy. The widening gap between the masses and the elite and between the urbanized advanced ethnic groups and the backward majority must be bridged as we move down the difficult road to a more egalitarian society in Nepal. The problem in Nepal is that some modicum of recognition may be given to the linguistic and cultural identities of a few conscious ethnic groups, while the great majority remain in a

state of "benign neglect." Selective token recognition is not the answer.

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LANGUAGE HETEROGENEITY ALSO IN SWEDEN

Björn H. Jernudd

Sweden is not a monolingual country. While it is true that Swedish governments have pursued policies that recognize only one language de jure, domestic discussion and fact were never that simple. The language situation is quite complex.

To begin with, the Swedish language is not monolithic since people speak different dialects in Skåne (Scania) in the deep south; in Dalarna (Dalecarlia) in the middle of the country; and in Torne, the far north. These particular dialects are unintelligible to speakers of the Stockholm dialect. Furthermore, I need only travel 70 kilometers from my own birthplace, and I have some problems understanding local talk. The dialect issue was discussed in the Swedish parliament a few years ago when teachers and parents in Dalecarlia disagreed about the extent of use of the standard variety of Swedish relative to use of dialect in school.

Then there is a historic dialect continuum between Norway and Sweden, Sweden and Denmark, and Sweden and Finland--in the latter case for both Swedish and Finnish varieties. The standard languages are also related in various ways of speaker familiarity, treatment, acquisition, and variable use, and cooperative Nordic Council and intergovernmental actions aim at increasing intertranslatability.

In Sweden, there are historically indigenous people who have lived in their parts of the country for as long as the Swedish-speaking Swedes. One of these peoples has Finnish as their home language. They now live in communities along the northern coast and on the Torne River. At one time, their children were forbidden to use Finnish and were punished if they spoke Finnish (rather than Swedish) at school, even during recess. On the other hand, when the Swedish central school authorities brought up the possibility of voluntary participation in the teaching of Finnish in some schools in 1932, local opinion opposed the idea. Relationships between this "minority" and the Swedish state were complex then and remain complex today.

Another indigenous people are the Saami, originally all nomadic across northern Scandinavia and the Kola Peninsula. (You may know them by a derogatory name, Lapps.) There are three Saami languages, and among these there are also dialects. Individual and institutional efforts are underway to develop the Saami language(s). Those efforts reach beyond the boundaries of Sweden, and among the Saami in the Nordic countries there now exist joint institutions for language development. Until recently, however, the Saami were in the same disadvantaged position linguistically, culturally, and socioeconomically as the Finnish-speaking Swedes. It ought also to be mentioned that their grazing lands once extended much further south. The agricultural, sedentary Swedes pushed the nomadic Saami northwards, overrunning them by colonization.

Otherwise there are groups that are identified as religious, refugee, or immigrant groups, some of very long standing, some recent, yet all Swedish-born citizens claiming their own languages. Among these is the Jewish religious group who maintain Hebrew. Despite efforts over a long period of time, they have been unsuccessful in obtaining government recognition of Hebrew for purposes of school grants.

The Second World War brought the Estonians, Latvians, Poles, Ingerians, Lithuanians, and other, among whom many maintain group identity and language but who have been largely unsuccessful, too, in obtaining government support of their linguistic and cultural maintenance efforts. Later refugee groups are the Hungarians, the Czechs, and the Slovaks.

The language needs of the labor immigrants is a phenomenon that particularly arose in the 1960s and early 1970s although immigration from Finland and Italy started in the 1950s. There are also large immigrant groups from Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Germany, Norway, and Denmark. The Swedish government claims to be taking serious steps towards meeting immigrants' communicative needs to enable them to participate in political and social life, to receive social services, and to maintain their own languages and social-cultural heritage. There are schools that use Finnish in primary classes as the medium of instruction, there are interpreter services in the courts, and there are TV and radio programs in immigrant languages. There are, for example, some very worthwhile children's TV programs entirely in immigrant languages at prime kiddies' time. This can be quite beneficial for creating

interest and acceptance among other-speaking Swedes, particularly among the children.

But the fact that Swedish is the dominant and official (national) language is not seriously challenged. And by far the greatest portion of funds in support of immigrant communication and culture goes towards teaching Swedish to immigrants. Measured in terms of equal opportunity with the natively Swedish-speaking, these efforts are often criticized as falling short.

Along another dimension, English, German, French, Russian, Swahili, and so on are seen to be foreign languages, plain and simple, and are seen as tools. The Swedish school may now implement English from the early grades in primary school, but this is intended for maximum pedagogical effect on its acquisition as a foreign language for use primarily when Swedes travel and work abroad, in information transfer, and in international business. For instance, Volvo, a Sweden-based transnational corporation, has introduced English as the language of wider company communication to be used by staff as a lingua franca when a message might otherwise not be understood between geographically dispersed offices because of lack of another shared language. (In the company, translation services are available; courses are available; incentives for learning are available.) Another example of the view of these languages as tools is the action of the Swedish Export Council, which commissioned an evaluation of the language training and language services available to small businesses. The government is quite concerned to provide opportunities for learning foreign languages through-

out the educational system to meet needs in the world of work.

The complexity of the language situation in higher education needs to be emphasized. At university, the medium is Swedish. What do we mean by medium? We mean the students can use Swedish in all their writing; one uses Swedish almost exclusively in lectures, discussions, and all spoken intercourse except when a short-term visitor who does not know Swedish attends, for example, an advanced research seminar or gives a lecture. But then again, Swedish students and lecturers feel free to read in the literature of any language if convenient and possible, and they feel free to listen to information given in any language they know. Therefore, textbooks in one language can be substituted for textbooks in some other language if the teacher agrees; and sometimes a pensusum of knowledge may only be available in a particular foreign language (whether, for example, in French on a mathematical topic or in German on some medical specialty), and in that case, the Swedes will have to somehow manage to read it if the student wants to learn that material.

There is some benefit to Swedes in publishing domestically and abroad in other languages than Swedish. This grants the privilege of participating in international discussion and exchanges of fact and opinion. Most textbooks today, however, are in Swedish because people prefer it and because the idea of a textbook is that it is adapted to the particular needs of a particular group of users. This is the case in physics, phonetics, and so on. But when excellence and original contribution at international levels of achievement

become the criteria, we all have to avail ourselves of world knowledge and utilize other languages. Today's world is swamped with English, so Swedes learn mostly English among the foreign languages available for wider communication. But they also utilize German, French, Russian, Spanish, and since the 1960s at least to a somewhat greater extent, Arabic, Hindi, Japanese, and other previously "exotic" languages.

Sociolinguistics came into being as a reaction against the monolingual myth about language. All coalitions of people who work and live together are linguistically complex. In all states, there are speakers of many varieties of language. All varieties of language are subject to willful decisions about the maintenance of standard and specialized varieties of language. In the case of Sweden, the ethnic majority's speech formed the basis for what is now the "modern Swedish language," the use of which in public life is taken for granted unless very special circumstances otherwise warrant. Sweden has erred, and continues to err, in not giving enough room to the unremarked public use of other languages and of dialects of Swedish.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESSES IN TANZANIA

Abdu Mtajuka Khamisi

Tanzania is a union of the two former countries Tanganyika and Zanzibar. The two countries were united after a successful revolution in 1964, bringing to an end the Arab sultanate in Zanzibar island.

Tanzania is a one-party state, and it is pursuing its development along the principles of socialism and self-reliance, "ujamaa na kujilegemea." The country is forging ahead in its developmental goals under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere.

Tanzania has a population of about 17 million people, 95 percent of whom are African; the remaining 5 percent is composed largely of peoples of Asian origin and a handful of Europeans. The African population is subdivided into some 120 ethnic groups, sometimes referred to as tribes, each speaking a language of its own. Some of these languages have a high degree of mutual intelligibility, for example, Sukuma and Nyamwezi, while others do not, for example, Haya and Luguru. The majority of these languages belong to the group popularly known as Bantu. The remaining languages belong to the Cushitic (Iraqoo), Khoisan (Sandawe, Hadza), and Nilotes (Barbaig) groups. Recent studies (Nurse 1979) on the inter-

relationships of the languages in this region, based largely on lexico statistical analysis and comparison, has tended to place the languages into the Lacustrine (Rutara), Northeast, Northwest, and Southern language groups. Scholars agree that the present findings are tentative and urge more detailed research on the languages and dialects of the region.

Language planning experiences related in the following pages concern activities taking place in mainland Tanzania, where the issue of the choice of the languages to be used for various societal functions is much more pertinent given the complex linguistic patterns there. As for the islands Zanzibar and Pemba, Kiswahili (and its many dialects) is the only language. Language planning activities of a local and an international nature are also being promoted through the Institute of Kiswahili and Foreign Languages based in Zanzibar.

Discussion on the use of languages in specific domains in mainland Tanzania may be traced back to the nineteenth century when the first missionaries started arriving on the East African coast. Missionaries were obviously perplexed at the number of languages spoken by the inhabitants of this region and had to agree among themselves on the languages to be used for the spread of the gospel. Krapf (1850) documented the divergence of opinion that had developed among the missionaries on the use of either Kiswahili, which had already spread inland as a trade language and a language for the spread of Islam, or other indigenous languages. One group argued in favor of the use of Kiswahili on the grounds that the language had already incorporated names for religious concepts through its use in the teaching of Islam and that it

would be economical in terms of training of personnel and preparation of teaching material and in bringing about uniformity in the teachings of the Bible. The other group contended that the use of the native tongue would carry home the Christian mission message better than Kiswahili, which had already been contaminated with Islamic concepts. They never came to any agreement. As a result, we find today Bibles both in tribal languages and in Kiswahili. The same is true of religious services.

The issue of choice of language for use in the society took a different tack during the German colonial era. The Germans instituted a system of direct rule in the territory. Since they could not afford to teach the local assistants the language of the ruled, and since it was feared that exposing the local people to the German language might enable them to know the ways of the rulers, the Germans ordered the teaching of Kiswahili in schools and the use of that language by the local assistants in administering the territory. The question of the use of the remaining native languages was left to the users themselves.

When Britain took over the administration of the colony, it introduced a system of indirect rule through the use of local chiefs. This led to the increased use of native languages at the chiefs' courts and to the decreasing use of Kiswahili. English was made an official language. However, the usefulness of Kiswahili as a lingua franca was not lost sight of. The British were already aware that Kiswahili was being used by ordinary people in the streets of Zanzibar and in the urban areas of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

Since Kiswahili had several regional and dialectal variations, a move was made to standardize the language. An Interterritorial Language Committee for East African States including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar was formed in 1930, and the Zanzibar urban dialect Kiunguja was chosen as a model for standard Kiswahili. By 1939, a bilingual standard Kiswahili/English dictionary and a monolingual Kiswahili dictionary had been published.

Kiswahili was taught as a compulsory subject in government and native authority schools and as an optional subject in private schools and in secondary schools. English was taught as a subject from standard five in primary schools and was used as a medium of instruction from standard five to standard fourteen. Kiswahili functioned as a medium of instruction in primary schools up to standard four in government and native authority schools. The use of the remaining local languages in education was not entertained except in the early years of primary schools where children from some localities had to be assisted to transfer from their mother tongue to Kiswahili. In administration, the language had a semiofficial status; it became a must for army, police, and civil service personnel, who could be transferred from place to place anytime and who had to integrate and interact with people from different ethnic and linguistic backgrounds in the discharge of their duties.

Faced with task of mobilizing and politicizing the country, the national liberation movement, Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), in 1954 chose to use Kiswahili, the language of the farmers, plantation workers, and the illiter-

ate, as its sole medium of political activities. The move had a positive psychological effect, and according to Kaniki (1974) this contributed greatly to the massive support the party received right from the beginning. TANU's program of literacy and politicization was carried out entirely in Kiswahili. To date the official language of C.C.M. is Kiswahili.

When independence was declared in December 1961, the official government language was still English. The following year, Kiswahili was declared an official national language. Thus a street language and one of the minority languages came to be a national language. Abdul Aziz (1971) correctly asserts that a political decision was taken at that stage to give the indigenous language the present status. He summarized the overriding factors that facilitated the early arrival of this decision. These included the hundred years or so of exposure to Kiswahili; the use of Kiswahili as a *lingua franca*; the egalitarian nature of the society in which Kiswahili operated; the social mobility of the population; the use of Kiswahili in multiethnic settings, including coffee, sisal, cotton, coconut, cashew nut, and clove plantations; the institution of cooperative movements, religious denominations, and social clubs, which drew membership across ethnic boundaries; the urgent need to bring about national unity within diverse groups; TANU's determination to meet the challenges posed by poverty, disease, and ignorance; and finally the linguistic affinity of Kiswahili with the majority ethnic languages and the neutrality of Kiswahili in matters of ethnic identity. Politicians performed the role of a language planner at the time.

Postindependence developments in the field of language in Tanzania witnessed efforts to promote the use of two languages, English and Kiswahili. Other local languages continue to perform other social roles alongside the two government-backed languages. A clear demarcation was made of the sphere of influence for each language in the country. Kiswahili was to be confined to national issues, including ceremonial functions, national address, national media, national education, government administration and other official matters, and to party issues. English was to serve in official matters alongside Kiswahili, as a medium of instruction in secondary and higher education, and as a link in matters of international communication. Kiswahili was to gradually take over those functions that were then being performed by English as and when it became ready. Other local languages, including Asiatic languages, Somali, Arabic, and some others that were spoken by the minorities in the country, were free to be used where the users of these languages felt a need for them. The use of these languages in national education was never entertained since Kiswahili fulfilled this role.

A significant development which followed was the appointment of the national language promoter in the Ministry of National Culture and Community Development, whose major duties were to promote the use of Kiswahili throughout the country and to coordinate all language promotional activities in the country.

In order to promote the use of Kiswahili in schools, a department was formed in the Institute of Education to prepare material, approve Kiswahili publications for use in

schools, and retrain teachers in the use of material being prepared. The first fruit of this effort was the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in primary education throughout the country in 1967. Simultaneously, the teacher education program for primary schools was started in Kiswahili.

These programs have been running successfully ever since. However, recent research findings (Matteru and Mlama 1978) point to the relative falling standards in the mastery of English but to the competent utilization of Kiswahili in the writings and expression of post-primary-school students at the same time. A number of hypotheses have been put forward regarding this state of affairs: these include the disuse of English as a medium of instruction in primary schools, the low language competence of the primary school teachers, particularly those who never went beyond primary school; the negative attitude of the teachers, pupils, and a large section of the population toward English; and the inadequacy of English teaching material. This is despite the fact that English was now taught from standard three. The Ministry of National Education and the Institute of Education are busy trying to find the root cause of the apparent fall in English language standards.

Meanwhile, the authors of the report have urged the Ministry of National Education to look seriously into the possibility of switching over to Kiswahili as a medium for secondary school education in the light of the prevailing problem. This recommendation is in line with the official policy of gradually shifting functions from English to Kiswahili. In

1969, a ministry paper outlining a program of gradually introducing Kiswahili as a medium of instruction was tabled at the University of Dar es Salaam. Since then the Institute of Education has been preparing material for use in secondary schools and waiting for the time when the ministry would consider it opportune to launch the program.

In 1979 participants at a meeting between the ministry and the bodies concerned with the promotion of Kiswahili were informed that the technical terms for use in the teaching of secondary school subjects were almost ready and what remained to be done was the writing of the relevant teaching materials and handouts for use. A program of implementation has already been prepared, and an estimate of expenditures has been presented for scrutiny and final approval.

Since the introduction of Kiswahili as a medium of instruction in secondary schools would ultimately affect the academic activities of other postsecondary institutions, all institutions in the country that are likely to be affected have been asked to initiate discussion at their respective places of work on the impact of the use of Kiswahili and to report their reactions to the Ministry of National Education. Specifically the ministry sought to know about the programs of operation, manpower requirements, and budgetary implications in the event of Kiswahili being used as a medium of instruction in their institutions.

At the University of Dar es Salaam a seminar has already been held to the same effect, and all faculties and institutes have been urged by the senate of the university to form subcommittees to discuss the issue and report the position of

each faculty and institute regarding the use of Kiswahili as a medium for university education. Future reports on the use of Kiswahili in Tanzania will take note of the developments under consideration.

Outside the school system a vigorous adult education program is being conducted under the Institute of Adult Education. The program was inaugurated in 1970 by the president, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, who defined adult education as:

learning--about anything at all which can help us to understand the environment we live in and the manner in which we can change and use this environment in order to improve ourselves--that education is not just something which happens in the classrooms. It is learning from others and from our own experience of past success of failures.

Nyerere hoped the education would bring about the following effects:

- 1) to make us reject bad houses, bad hoes, and preventable diseases, to make us recognize that we ourselves have the ability to obtain better houses, better tools and better health;
- 2) to learn how to improve our lives
 - to learn how to produce more on our farm in our factories and offices
 - to learn about better food, what balanced diet is and how it can be obtained by our own efforts
- 3) to understand our national policy of 'Ujamaa' and self reliance to learn about the plans for national economic advance so that we can ensure that we all

play our part in making them a success and we all benefit from them.

The program is nationwide and is aimed at equipping the mature person who is engaged in production with modern and scientific knowledge and skills to enable him to contribute gainfully to national development. The program produces booklets such as "Mtu ni Afya" [Man is his health], "Siasa ni Kilimo" [Politics for Tanzania is agriculture], "Kisomo chenye Manufaa" [Functional literacy], "Pamba ni mali" [Cotton is wealth], and several others. The entire program is conducted in Kiswahili, and the booklets and other supplementary materials are written in the same language. This has been the most successful of Tanzania's education programs. According to 1979 census, the literacy rate in Tanzania is over 80 percent. Kiswahili language is used in this way to introduce innovations into the community for the common good.

An important organ in the promotion of Kiswahili is the Institute of Kiswahili Research of the University of Dar es Salaam. The Institute is a nonteaching research body dealing with different aspects of Kiswahili and its related fields. This Institute has the following key sections: Literature, Linguistics, Lexicography, and Publications. Each section is further divided into subsections depending on the nature of the activities within the section.

The Literature section is subdivided into oral literature and written literature. The oral literature subsection conducts research in folklore and oral literature in the Kiswahili language and its dialects, and it relates its findings to material collected from languages of other ethnic groups.

The wealth of literature presented in tales, stories, proverbs, riddles, and poems that abound in the languages of mainland Tanzania is carefully taped, transcribed, edited, translated, and either published or preserved in manuscript form for analysis and use by scholars from different disciplines. The subsection is contributing a lot to the minority languages and will continue to do so in an endeavor to reconstruct the past in order to understand the present and to plan for the future.

The written literature subsection concentrates on research on written Kiswahili in poetry, epics, and prose. The subsection undertakes literary criticism of the available literature and interprets it through the eyes of local scholars assessing their contribution to society and to mankind.

The Linguistics section is subdivided into theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, dialectology, and comparative studies subsections.

The theoretical linguistics subsection concerns production of grammar, phonology, morphology, and syntax books on Kiswahili and on other local languages. Besides producing occasional papers, the subsection has already produced a publishable manuscript on standard Kiswahili morphology.

The sociolinguistics subsection researches in areas of language use in society and handles problems of language teaching. The section has been actively engaged in the standardization of the present spelling system in Kiswahili in cooperation with the National Kiswahili Council.

The dialectology subsection deals with Kiswahili dialects and has initiated fresh research in linguistic geography in an effort to establish Kiswahili dialect boundaries. The subsection intends to investigate indigenous languages other than Kiswahili in a program of language survey to be launched later.

The comparative study subsection conducts research of a comparative nature in local languages of Tanzania, including Kiswahili. This is yet another area where the interests of minority languages are taken care of.

The lexicography section is subdivided into general dictionary, subject dictionary, technical terminology, and translation and transliteration subsections.

The general dictionary subsection deals with the preparation of general monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and undertakes research of a lexical nature, including revision of the existing dictionaries. The latest revised monolingual Kiswahili dictionary was published in 1981. Work on a Kiswahili bilingual dictionary is underway. The section is outlining a project for work on a Kiswahili/local languages dictionary.

The subject dictionary subsection is concerned with the preparation of dictionaries on different disciplines, including mathematics, physics, and biology, among others. This subsection has accomplished work on the general dictionary of biology in Kiswahili and is now working on physics and engineering material.

The technical terminology subsection collects, collates,

and coordinates works on technical terminology. The subsection is now building up a word bank to control the terms and to provide instant service to the consumer.

The translation and transliteration subsection undertakes translation of selected works of science and the arts to make available to the public some important contributions of mankind. In addition, the section transliterates manuscripts written in Arabic characters into Roman characters for further research and for several other uses. Several booklets resulting from this task have been published.

The publications section undertakes publication of the institute journals and manuscripts resulting from research in the areas outlined above. In addition, the section offers free advice to authors of Kiswahili by reading, editing, and advising on ways to improve their manuscripts, and it undertakes to publish those that are of academic interest.

Thus besides furthering academic pursuits, the institute provides services to the public along the lines described above. The Institute also takes a keen interest in the study of ethnic languages other than Kiswahili for purposes of understanding their structures and lexicon and to utilize the findings, where possible, to promote Kiswahili.

The other body of interest to language planners is the Department of Kiswahili at the university, which undertakes the teaching of Kiswahili literature and linguistics. It is central in the training of future language promoters. It undertakes research in Kiswahili, and it encourages students to do research and present papers on aspects of their mother

tongues other than Kiswahili in an effort to interest them in their home languages. The department uses Kiswahili as a medium of instruction. It also offers courses leading to M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Kiswahili.

Supplementing these efforts is a book writers association, UWAVITA, and an association of Kiswahili Writers and Poets, UKUTA. These bodies are self-supporting and are playing a leading role in their effort to coordinate writers, to evaluate and criticize national efforts, and to fill the literature gap through their contribution to national literature.

All the bodies mentioned above, including the Institute of Education, Institute of Adult Education, the Institute of Kiswahili Research, and the Department of Kiswahili, are affiliated with the National Kiswahili Council. This is an authoritative organ of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth instituted by an act of Parliament in 1967. The council consists of 40 members drawn from all language activities. The director is assisted by the national language promoter and a coordinator. Their main task is to estimate manpower requirements to provide relevant training, to collect information on linguistic needs, to keep the council informed about these demands, and to assist in the council's formulation of its projects, strategies, and approaches to language promotion in the country.

The national language promoter coordinates with the regional language promoters, the district language promoters, and the area language promoters. At each point within the hierarchy, a language promotion committee is set up to look into the linguistic needs of the region, the district, the

division and the village. A representative of the National Kiswahili Council is a member of regional and district language committees and is free to attend sessions at divisional level whenever he finds time to do so. The ministry representative at each point is the secretary of the committee who takes minutes and writes reports of the activities to the ministry and to the council for action. The council uses the same administrative structure in its interaction with the promotional bodies and in dissemination of the information and new terms. So far the machinery has been functioning satisfactorily with an occasional breakdown due to problems of manpower, reallocation of resources, transport problems, and sometimes due to sheer lack of experience on the part of implementers. Seminars, area meetings, and workshops are conducted periodically to try to overcome these problems.

The issue of providing Kiswahili with appropriate technical terms in order for the language to meet modern demands has been of interest to language users, educators, language planners, and other social reformers. Experience has taught the council to involve people and institutions that are in dire need of specific technical terminology. The body concerned is asked to provide an exhaustive list of English terms that are to be considered; the body is also asked to use the language committee at its place of work for suggestion of equivalent Kiswahili terms and to indicate its preferences where several suggestions have been proposed. The body is asked to provide some elaboration on the meaning of terms and or usage to help the council in its deliberations.

The council then compares the suggested list with the

existing one, if there happens to be any, and prepares a draft which is sent to specialists in the respective discipline for critical examination and comment. The revised list is then sent to the originator of the problem for comments prior to its being tabled before the standardization committee. When the list is finally tabled, the originator is invited to attend together with the specialists for final agreement. Henceforth the list is adopted as a tentative list, and copies are sent to newspapers and radio and to the regions through the administrative machinery for dissemination countrywide. The council itself hardly coins terms; instead it coordinates efforts and gives final authority for the release of the final product.

The exercise of standardization itself follows well-established procedure in matters relating to lexical development. Terms or vocabulary for new concepts have to be found either from Kiswahili and its related dialects or have to be borrowed from the following languages, in order: Bantu and other local languages, Arabic, and English. Failure to secure a suitable term from any of the above languages would lead to coining a new term to fill the gap. Needless to say, the system is far from perfect. Instances of individual attempts to influence the trend of lexical development have led to the establishment of the Unguja School (Ohly 1976), which seeks to develop Kiswahili along oriental lines, and the Tanga School, which seeks to exploit Kiswahili dialects fully prior to borrowing from other languages. Indeed one could also add the Mrima School, which seeks to develop Kiswahili along European lines whereby borrowing from English and other Euro-

pean languages is much more tolerated. Lexical development is an arduous task; it is a sensitive issue reflecting individual background and taste and as such it has to be approached cautiously. Success or failure in this endeavor will not depend on schools of thought, on likes and dislikes, but on objective reality of the language situation based on scientific research in the field concerned. In this regard, the cooperation of the Institute of Kiswahili Research with the Ministry of National Culture and Youth need not be over-emphasized.

The choice of language for national official purposes has been partly political and partly pragmatic. The choice of Kiswahili was indeed political, and it had to be so given the fact that despite the factors in favor of the use of Kiswahili summarized in Abdul Aziz (1971), neither the elite nor the colonial ruler was prepared to give full status to the language. The increased collectivization in the post-independence era, including the introduction of "Ujamaa villages," the institution of national service programs, adult education programs, and the universal primary education program have all benefited greatly through the use of the national language, Kiswahili. The use of English as an official language has served to maintain international communication and to facilitate intergovernmental engagements. On the other hand, the continued use of English did contribute towards the slow speed with which the public, especially the elite, responded to the call for the use of Kiswahili. The elite sometimes failed to see the logic of using Kiswahili when English already served their communica-

tive needs. A silent struggle still exists between the elites and the general public in matters relating to language use, the former preferring English to Kiswahili and the latter the opposite. This development has been noted and the need to evaluate language promotional activities has been expressed in various quarters. The minister for national culture and youth expressed the need to conduct a nationwide evaluation of language use and promotion in his opening address to the National Kiswahili Council in 1980. The National Kiswahili Council has been given the task of evaluating language promotional activities, reporting on the state of affairs, and making specific recommendations to the ministry.

Tanzania's policy on minority languages is embodied in the ideals and objectives of the Ministry of National Culture and Youth which has been given the responsibility of promoting national culture. The ministry has to study and promote the use of the local languages if it is to avail itself of the wealth of cultural values and norms that are normally expressible in a mother tongue. The speed with which this task is to be undertaken will depend partly on the economic position of the country and partly on the significance the people of Tanzania attach to the ethnic cultures. The country has succeeded in promoting a minority language, Kiswahili, to the status of a national, official language, and this is no mean achievement. It is hoped that other minority languages will also find expression in the entire spectrum of the promotion of national culture based on the principle of unity within diversity.

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INDONESIAN EXPERIENCES IN LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Djoko Kentjono

As a multilingual country and as a member of a family of nations participating in an international communication which involves modern culture, science, and technology, Indonesia faces a network of language problems--that of the national language, regional languages, and foreign languages.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

The problem of choosing the national language has been solved de jure by the ratification of the Constitution in 1945. Article 36 of the Constitution clearly states that the state language is Bahasa Indonesia. Evidently the constitution drafters realized the importance of a language policy in a multilanguage country like Indonesia. However, the article is in fact a formal recognition of the Youth Pledge (to have one state, one nation, and one unifying language), which was pronounced seventeen years prior to the proclamation of independence.

One can say that the status of Bahasa Indonesia nowadays is indisputably established. As a state, national, and offi-

cial language, it has been functioning quite satisfactorily as a means of communication on the national level; as a means to manage the state; as a means to unite people from various ethnic, cultural, and linguistic backgrounds in one nation; as a symbol of national identity and pride; and as a means to accommodate new national culture, mainly through education, aspects of which involve international culture, science, and technology.

It is true, however, that at present there are still a number of people who do not know the language. Unfortunately there is no reliable record that shows the number of people who speak Indonesian. According to one estimate, the number of those speaking Bahasa Indonesia natively may be around 7.5 million (Noss 1969, 114), but when bilinguals--whose mother tongues are the regional languages--who have acquired native-like command of Bahasa Indonesia are counted, then the number would run well over 50 million (see Hartmann and Stork 1972, 75). These figures indicate that Indonesia still faces the task of expanding the use of Bahasa Indonesia in the Republic. At the same time, however, one can see clearly enough the tendency toward more extensive use and influence of the national language among the people. Several factors are probably responsible for this turnabout.

First of all, the national language is the state language in which the national governmental administration is carried out. Secondly, Bahasa Indonesia is the interethnic language. Thirdly it is the official medium of instruction at all levels and types of schools throughout the country. Fourthly, it has spread widely, thanks to modern means of communi-

cation and transportation. Publications in Bahasa Indonesia, especially the newspapers, have reached faraway places. Transistorized radios penetrate even more deeply into remote areas. A still-wider coverage has been in effect since the launching of the Palapa communication satellite in July 1976. Modern transportation systems have increased the mobility of the people and promoted more interethnic contacts. The fifth factor is intermarriage of people from different ethnic groups, hence, verbal communication between husband and wife is commonly done in Bahasa Indonesia. Children coming from intermarriages tend to speak Indonesian as their mother tongue. The sixth factor is the mingling of people from different language backgrounds in the same area. This is seen in the process of transmigration, migration, and urbanization (Kentjono and Suhardi 1976, 1).

REGIONAL LANGUAGES

The Constitution drafters evidently realized the multilingual situation of Indonesia. Although they did not provide a specific clause in the body of the Constitution, they formulated a regional language policy in the elucidation of the Constitution. The elucidation given to article 36 states that "In regions have languages of their own which are well-cultivated by the people (e.g., Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, etc.), those languages will also be cared for and respected by the state. These languages are part of the living culture of Indonesia."

Regional languages such as Balinese, Batak, Buginese, Javanese, Madurese, and Sundanese serve as a symbol of regional identity and pride and as a means of communication within family circles and by regional community members. In connection with the function of the national language, these languages serve potentially as supporting sources for the enrichment of the national language, especially in terminology; as the medium of instruction in the early years of primary education to facilitate the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia and other subjects; and as a means of expressing and developing regional cultures.

Most of the regional languages in Indonesia are only used orally in daily situations and have no literary tradition. Fewer than ten languages have relatively large numbers of speakers and have a literary tradition.

Looking at these differences, one can understand that the policy is to a certain extent discriminative in the efforts to care for the regional languages. Limited manpower and funds may have to leave most of the vernaculars untouched. The top priority is necessarily given to the development of the national language. It was not surprising, therefore, that a national seminar on regional languages (January 1976) grieved over the decline of the prestige of the major regional languages. The seminar concluded that the policy had not been implemented fully.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

As a developing country participating in international communications and having to absorb modern ideas, science, and technology for the purpose of national development, Indonesia is aware of the necessity to make use of foreign international languages such as English, French, and German.

In the school system, English has been chosen to be the first foreign language to be taught. English is introduced from the first year of junior high school, while French and German are given as electives in senior high schools. Other foreign languages are the concern of academies or universities.

The problem of foreign languages in Indonesia is thus not that of developing those languages, but that of teaching them and making profitable use of them. But since only a small fraction of the population will have the advantage of mastering foreign languages, the urgency of translating relevant materials in foreign languages has been more and more felt.

EXPERIENCE IN DEVELOPING BAHASA INDONESIA

The preceding paragraphs were intended to present a general picture of the language situation in Indonesia. In the following paragraphs attention will be given to some experiences in the development of Bahasa Indonesia: problems of standard pronunciation, spelling, grammar, and terminology.

Standard Pronunciation

The multilingual background of Indonesia logically produced varieties in the pronunciation of Bahasa Indonesia. The way one pronounces the language frequently marks one's origin. Regional or local colorings are primarily shown by intonational features and secondarily by segmental manifestations. Of course there are always individual peculiarities, stylistic (slow formal or rapid colloquial) differences, and differences caused by different social contexts.

That standard pronunciation would be advantageous is understandable. Unfortunately there is officially no such standard. In the early years of the Republic, it was commonly believed that the model for good Indonesian was the Riau-Malay dialect, but the existence of such a model has never been verified.

The need for standard pronunciation has been voiced in different language seminars and symposia. Most recently, in the Third Congress of Bahasa Indonesia (1978), the need for standard pronunciation was restressed. It was suggested that the speech of state radio and television announcers be studied. Likewise, similarities in the pronunciation of Bahasa Indonesia in its different dialects were to be noted.

It is worth mentioning that a preliminary step toward the formulation of Indonesian standard pronunciation was initiated by the National Center for Language Development aided by the Indonesian and Regional Language and Literature Research Project. The effort has produced a standard Indonesian phonology research guide.

Spelling

Bahasa Indonesia has de facto adopted the Roman alphabet for its orthography, even though not officially. None of the spelling ordinances mentioned the formal adoption of the alphabet. The case is brought up here because prior to the first spelling ordinance in 1901 the use of Arabic script had been a common practice since the introduction of Islam in this country. And there were also the Pallava characters used in inscriptions dated as early as the seventeenth century.

The Roman alphabet with individual peculiarities aimed at phonetic approximation was used by European traders and explorers and later by scholars studying Malay. In 1901 the first effort to standardize the use of the Roman alphabet was put forth. Known as "Van Ophuysen Spelling," the system was named huruf Belanda ("Dutch characters") due to the apparent influence of the Dutch spelling system.

The first spelling reform came about in 1947, nearly two years after the proclamation of independence. The ordinance was issued by the minister of education and culture, Mr. Soewandi--hence the name ejaan Soewandi ("Soewandi spelling"). It was also known as the "Republic spelling." The motive behind the reform seemed to be to break away from the Dutch influence in the colonial Van Ophuysen system. Many changes were proposed, but only a few were carried out. Therefore the problem of spelling revision became an important issue in the Second Congress of Bahasa Indonesia (1954).

One of the resolutions of the Congress was to improve the current spelling system. The minister of education and culture then appointed a commission for the purpose. The commission came up with a draft in 1957.

In the meantime, a desire for Indonesian-Malay spelling unification was voiced in the Federation of Malaya. This desire was taken seriously when a friendship treaty was signed by the Republic of Indonesia and the Federation of Malaya in April 1959. Later in the same year, a draft of Melindo (Melayu-Indonesia) spelling--a joint effort by the Indonesian Committee for the implementation of Language Co-operation and the Committee of the New Romanized Spelling of the Federation of Malaya--was presented to both governments. The spelling system, which in many ways was similar to the 1957 draft, was to be made official in both countries not later than January 1962, but this never came about due to the political rift between the two countries in the years following.

For the Institute of Language and Literature (later to become the National Center for Language Development) the delay of the improvement of the Soewandi spelling became some cause for concern. The political rift, on the other hand, was seen by the young linguists of the Institute as a blessing in disguise. The Melindo draft was found to be weak in its linguistic principles and inefficient in its practical aspects.

The Institute appointed a committee in May 1966 with a crash program to study previous spelling systems and spelling reform drafts and to submit a new proposal. In the same year, the political confrontation came to an end with the rise of a new order in Indonesia.

In the resumption of language cooperation, Indonesia offered its new proposal. In 1967 a meeting between the two parties was held in Kuala Lumpur to make a final draft of a common spelling.

The proposed new system was introduced to the public in a symposium commemorating the thirty-eighth year of the Youth Pledge in the same year. This was soon followed by strong emotional reactions against the new system. One reaction said that the acceptance of the proposed system would mean the submission of Indonesia to Malaysia. Another feared the financial consequences of a new spelling system. Still another wanted entirely new and fully Indonesian-made characters, having no similarities to the Roman alphabet. One extreme reaction accused the committee of having betrayed the sacred Youth Pledge. The reactions reached their peak in 1969 in a seminar that was specially designed to accommodate reactions, for as well as against the draft. It was sponsored by the Indonesian Teachers Association (PGRI). This temporarily quieted the spelling reform committee, who were blamed for tackling the problem by themselves.

The result of the 1971 general election apparently created a more favorable atmosphere for the resumption of the campaign. An executive committee was appointed, involving a wide range of elements: the press, the military, the ministries, Moslem scholars, publishers, teachers, and the like. In March 1972, reactions were sought in a seminar attended by scholars from various fields, journalists, writers, members of the parliament, artists, and others. Teams were sent to important places in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi, and Bali to give

detailed explanation of the new system, which was officially named ejaan yang disempurnakan ("the perfected spelling"), to teachers and government officials. The new spelling ordinance was decreed by President Soeharto on 16 August 1972 to be effective from 17 August 1972 on. This was considered the first step in the efforts to standardize Bahasa Indonesia. Terminology and grammar were the next steps on the list.

Grammar

Grammar has always been one of the compulsory subjects in the high school curriculum, but it has not been generally favored by students. Most grammar books prescribed by the Department of Education and Culture are outdated. They are mostly written in the grammatical frameworks of the Dutch language or Latin. Grammar is introduced as a series of technical terms and prescribed rules, often arbitrary, to be memorized by the students. They are seldom meant to be related to the development of the students' skill in the production of actual utterances and therefore do not have much practical value. A student may be adept at sentence bracketing, but this is in no way a guarantee of his competence in producing grammatical sentences.

It has been thirty-one years since the publication of Alisjahbana's Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia I [The New Grammar of Bahasa Indonesia], the most popular among the available high school grammars. To most teachers this is the "grammar" that has shaped their knowledge of grammar and has imprinted a long-lasting effect on their way of teaching

grammar to their students. Unfortunately this has been one of the factors leading to the unproductive use of grammar in the schools.

It would take time and vigorous efforts to uproot the old grammatical notion and to replace it with one that really takes account of the Indonesian language. However, due regard must be given to the sporadic efforts to write new grammars. Tatabahasa Indonesia (Keraf 1970) is an example of an effort to apply structural linguistic principles in the writing of a school grammar.

In 1976 the National Center for Language Development published a manual for the writing of Indonesian grammar (Rusyana and Samsuri). The preparation of a standard reference grammar is now underway.

Terminology

It must be noted that prior to World War II the need to develop scientific terminology in Indonesian had not been felt. This is understandable, since the educated elite had been soaked in Dutch in their scholarly and scientific discourse.

A drastic change came about with the arrival of the Japanese military forces. The military government right away prohibited the use of Dutch. As it would take some time to replace Dutch with Japanese, the military government had no alternative but to use Bahasa Indonesia as the medium of communication and education. It was indeed a blessing in disguise. This sudden upturn for Bahasa Indonesia created a

busy atmosphere especially for those concerned with education and scientific activities.

The Balai Pustaka (Bureau for People's Literature), which had already contributed extensively to the propagation of Malay by its various publications since its founding in 1908, had to translate textbooks for high schools. Indonesian terms had to be coined for the Dutch equivalents. The task was not an easy one. Heated discussions often took place in choosing a particular term. However, these controversies normally died down once the books were in circulation.

The Japanese military government Office of Education instituted the Commission for Bahasa Indonesia in October 1942 in trying to cope with the need to codify the use of Indonesian terms. The commission worked strenuously, although not without constraints, before it was finally closed down in April 1945. However, its findings were published as the Kamus Istilah [Dictionary of Terms] in October 1945. The dictionary contains 6,772 terms from seven different fields that had passed several stages of scrutiny (Johannes 1973, 104).

In 1947 the minister of education and culture, being aware that Bahasa Indonesia as well as the regional languages needed continuous, conscientious cultivation and development, assigned the task of setting up a state institution for that purpose. This was not accomplished, since many of the scholars and linguists had already evacuated from Jakarta to avoid Dutch military aggression. Instead, a working committee was formed in June 1947. The tasks of this committee were: (a) to draw up terms for scientific purposes as well as

various community activities, (b) to prescribe the grammar of Bahasa Indonesia for elementary and high schools, and (c) to prepare a new dictionary or to revise existing dictionaries for school use. Unfortunately this working committee had to be pleased with only one meeting, for the Dutch confiscated all Indonesian government buildings in Jakarta (July 1947).

The central government of the Republic moved to Yogyakarta. Here a language office (Balai Bahasa) was founded as a section in the Department of Education and Culture (March 1948). This was meant to become an autonomous national institute later. The institute then moved to Jakarta after the foundation of the United States of Indonesia and was fused to the Cultural and Linguistic Research Institute (Lembaga Penyelidikan Bahasa dan Kebudayaan) of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Indonesia to become the Institute for Language and Culture. In 1959 this was named Lembaga Bahasa dan Kesusastraan (Institute of Language and Literature) after the inclusion of the former Yogyakarta language office. The Institute was no longer attached to the Faculty of Letters.

In 1951 the Commission for Terminology became part of the Institute. It had at the start seventeen sections: medical sciences; agriculture, forestry, and fishery; veterinary science; law; linguistics; technology; physics and mathematics; chemistry; literature, journalism, and arts; economics and social sciences; education and psychology; finance; military science; navigation; women's handicrafts; and aviation. Later geography, entomology, religion, history, civics, and politics were added to the list.

The commission was elevated to the status of an inter-departmental committee and was annually appointed and financed by the cabinet of the prime minister. It stopped working at the end of 1966, since no new letter of appointment was issued. However, it had coined 321,710 terms by then. More than half of these terms have been published. The rest are still in the form of fourteen manuscripts.

The purpose of writing, translating, and coining the terms was not satisfactorily achieved despite the massive product of the commission. Several factors should be considered in this connection. The first is that the dissemination of the terms produced by the commission was not done efficiently. The second is that Jakarta was no longer the only important center of scholarly activities. New centers, in the temporary absence of terms they needed, had been creating their own sets of terms. The third is that the commission did not attempt to obtain feedback from those centers, let alone to ask their say before making its final choices. Moreover, the authority of the commission was not duly felt throughout the country.

After the Indonesian-Malaysian spelling unification in 1972, an Indonesian-Malaysian Language Council was set up to work out further steps toward more unification between the two languages. The Indonesian counterpart is called the Panitia Pengembangan Bahasa Indonesia (Committee for the Development of Bahasa Indonesia), while the Malaysian, the Jawatankuasa Tetap Bahasa Malaysia (Permanent Committee for Bahasa Malaysia). In the agenda of the council one of the highest priorities is given to unification of terminology.

In the fourth meeting, the council--which convenes twice yearly--accepted a common manual for the formation of scientific terms. The council has convened fourteen times and has worked out common terms in linguistics, literature, education, civil engineering, agriculture, forestry, biology, geography and geology, mathematics, physics, religion, economics, medical science, sports, mass communication, management, anatomy, pharmacy and pharmacology, psychology, mineralogy and petrology, and machine engineering.

The agreed terms will be useless unless they are disseminated to their potential users. The council, at least the Indonesian counterpart, has not made positive steps in the dissemination of the terms and consequently in obtaining feedback from the potential users.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Three institutions play important roles in the development of the national language: the government as the policy maker, the National Center for Language Development as the language planning and research agency, and the universities as manpower resources.

The Role of the Government

The government has indicated an increasingly positive attitude in the development of the national language. It sees the national language as a highly valuable investment in the

history of the Indonesian culture, which in turn constitutes the basic capital for national development. The development of the national language is constantly seen in the effort to strengthen national identity, pride, and solidarity.

More attention has been given to the development of Bahasa Indonesia since the presidential state address to the parliament of 16 August 1972 in which the president decreed the use of a new spelling system. It is worth quoting from the address, which has created a strong drive toward a more serious cultivation of the national language.

To own a national language entails the love for the national language; and the love for the national language entails a systematic development. Language grows and develops. Without cultivation its growth has no direction. To neglect it is as bad as to let the language that we love deteriorate.

There is no doubt that the cultivation of our national language is absolutely necessary; it is moreover a part of our national building. The development of Bahasa Indonesia is a national responsibility; it is not solely the business of the Department of Education and Culture.

The important steps are the standardization of our language which includes grammar, terminology, and spelling. We give priority to the standardization of spelling because it constitutes the foundation of the standardization of grammar and terminology. . . .

Our aim is one, to cultivate and develop Bahasa Indonesia without doing away with its identity and nature.

Let us express our love by using correct and good Bahasa Indonesia. I urge government officials, community leaders, newspapers, and magazines to start again to use good Indonesian--if this is accomplished our people will also do the same; and the more solid ground

for the development of Bahasa Indonesia which was the Youth Pledge forty-four years ago.

Language standardization educates language users to orderly use of their language. An orderly use of language also shows an orderly way of thinking and doing. An order constitutes the basis for a civilized and peaceful community life.

The president restressed this need for using good Indonesian in two more state addresses.

The effects of the presidential address have been obvious. The plea that has been continually voiced by those who have great concern in the development of the national language has suddenly received nationwide attention. The Department of Defense was the first to set up remedial courses in Bahasa Indonesia for its officers. The Department of Foreign Affairs, the navy, the state auditor, and many other government bodies soon followed suit.

In commemorating National Awakening Day on 20 May 1974, Governor of Jakarta Ali Sadikin had Jakartans replace signs, billboards, labels, and the like written in foreign languages with ones in Bahasa Indonesia. The governor also issued a list of Indonesian terms to replace foreign ones.

The Jakarta Municipal Health Service issued a regulation in which aliens practicing traditional medicine and acupuncture (Indian tabib and Chinese sinshe) have to take a test in Bahasa Indonesia before they are licensed to practice in Jakarta (Kompas, 24 July 1974).

The Department of Education and Culture set up various programs to provide new textbooks and reading material in

Bahasa Indonesia, using new language teaching methods, for the schools.

After the Indonesian-Malaysian spelling unification, the Indonesian government appointed a committee called the Committee for the Development of Bahasa Indonesia to speed up unification of the two languages in the fields of grammar and terminology. The duties of the committee are, among others: (a) to continue the cooperation in language matters that was started with the spelling unification; (b) to exchange information and experience on language matters based on research done by both sides; (c) to hold periodic meetings with the corresponding Malaysian committee; and (d) to set up a detailed working plan in connection with (a), (b), and (c). This committee, which was appointed by the minister of education and culture in October 1972, includes members from various disciplines.

The basic policy for the development plan in language matters was outlined in the Second Five-Year Development Plan (1974-1979). The development of language and literature was laid out as follows:

The cultivation and development of Indonesian and regional languages is basically aimed at the achievement of competence in using Indonesian as best as possible among the society as a means of national communication. At the same time, it gives a clear and orderly function to the regional languages in the effort to create a democratic national society.

In the efforts to nurture the development of the national language, a language development will be established, one which will involve Indonesian as well as other languages. In the implementation of the basic

design of language development the National Language Institute will play an important role. Specific objectives to be achieved are:

1. The writing of manuals and source books, including manuals for scientific terms (standardization in terminology), the writing of various standard dictionaries, dictionaries of Indonesian regional languages, and philological dictionaries, as research sources. Efforts will also be taken towards the standardization of grammar and the description of elements from foreign or regional languages which are useful for the purpose of standardization. There will also be the writing of textbooks on the history of Indonesian and regional language and literature, including the translation of literary works in regional languages, classics as well as modern. Further, there will be recording of test manuals for Indonesian, recording of the research on oral literature, and compilation and making of abstracts of works on language and literature.
2. The provision of stimuli and support for the development of scholarship, covering study grants for would-be experts in Indonesian, experts in regional languages, and experts in literature to arouse students' interest in the national language. Concurrently a system of awards for outstanding works on language and literature will be developed.
3. The preservation of invaluable manuscripts and books, in the sense of classical manuscripts and books which are nearly extinct, for research purposes in Indonesia by purchasing them, by micro-filming, etc. This endeavor also includes the republication and the romanization and translation of old manuscripts into Indonesian to propagate or to facilitate their reading by younger generations. At the same time, the priceless books and manuscripts will be kept in special libraries. In addition an effort will be made to collect available materials on Indonesian and regional languages and literature so as to constitute a linguistic information center.

4. The translation of regional literary works, classics and modern, and world literature to give a deeper insight to the awareness in living as a nation.
(Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Kedua, vol. 3, 230-232)

The Second Five-Year Development Plan has also rightly included books and scientific journals programs with the basic aim of developing people's reading habits. These programs will naturally provide one of the means to achieve competence in the use of the national language. It is understandable that these programs and the language and literature development programs are grouped under the same budgetary item.

The government's positive attitude is also seen in the financial allocation for the educational and cultural sector in general and the language and literature development program in particular. The realization of the allocation for the National Center for Language Development, for the period of the Second Five-Year Development Plan (1974-1979), for example, can be seen from the following (from Laporan Tahunan 1979, Table 7E):

(1) Routine (excluding salaries)	Rp 243,210,000.00
(2) Indonesian and regional language and literature research project	Rp 988,469,500.00
(3) Indonesian and regional language and literature development project	Rp 1,546,657,000.00

The National Center for Language Development

The National Center for Language Development (NCLD) is the only language planning agency at present. This is a government agency directly responsible to the minister of education and culture in policy matters. Administratively, it is under the Directorate General for Cultural Affairs, Department of Education and Culture.

NCLD has the following tasks: to do research on Bahasa Indonesia and regional languages; to do research on Indonesian and regional literature; to do research on the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia, regional languages, and foreign languages, as well as the teaching of Indonesian and regional literature; to do research on terminology in Indonesian and regional languages and to make their respective lexicographic studies; to control activities for the development of language and literature; and to evaluate the outcome of efforts in the development of language and literature.

To perform its tasks, NCLD is organized into executive units consisting of a director, a secretariat, an Indonesian and regional language division, an Indonesian and regional literature division, a lexicography and terminology division, and a research and development of Indonesian and regional language and literature division.

The Indonesian and Regional Language Division has the following functions: (1) to study the development of usage in Bahasa Indonesia and regional languages, (2) to study linguistic aspects of Bahasa Indonesia and regional languages, including their dialects, (3) to study the teaching of those languages, and (4) to standardize those languages.

To facilitate the work of the division, non-structural task units are formed based on the kinds of problems to be worked out.

The Bahasa Indonesia Task Unit deals with (a) the study of linguistic structure, (b) the study of lexicon, (c) the study of language development, (d) the study of registers and dialects, (e) the construction of language maps, and (f) the processing of research outputs.

The Regional Languages Task Unit deals with the same activities as the Bahasa Indonesia Task Unit, but its objects are the regional languages.

The Teaching of Bahasa Indonesia Task Unit deals with (a) the study of linguistic competence, (b) the study of language teaching devices and materials (including those for language counseling), (c) the study of curricula and syllabi, (d) the study of test and evaluation systems, (e) the study of language teaching development, and (f) the processing of research outputs in the teaching of Bahasa Indonesia.

The Teaching of Regional Languages Task Unit is the regional languages counterpart of the Teaching of Bahasa Indonesia Task Unit. Both deal with the same kinds of activities.

The Research Facilities Task Unit arranges (a) research source materials, (b) the division's inventory, (c) the presentation of statistical data, and (d) the recording of activities and the division's reports.

The Indonesian and Regional Literature Division has the following functions: (1) to study the development of Indone-

sian and regional literatures, (2) to study the teaching of Indonesian and regional literatures, and (3) to cultivate Indonesian and regional literatures. The division also has the following nonstructural task units.

The Classical Indonesian Literature Task Unit deals with the study of (a) classical Indonesian literature manuscripts, (b) theory of philology, (c) the history of classical Indonesian literature, and (d) the content and forms of classical Indonesian literary works.

The Modern Indonesian Literature Task Unit studies (a) the theory of Indonesian literature, (b) Indonesian literary criticism, (c) the history of modern Indonesian literature, (d) the sociology of Indonesian literature, and (e) modern Indonesian literary works.

The Regional Literature Task Unit studies (a) the theory of regional literature, (b) regional literary criticism, (c) the history of regional literature, and (d) the best literary works in the regional languages.

The Comparative Literature Task Unit deals with the following research problems: (a) the comparison of Indonesian literature and regional literature, (b) Indonesian and regional literatures, (c) works in regional languages for translation.

The Teaching of Literature Task Unit studies (a) proficiency in literary appreciation, (b) teaching materials, (c) curricula for the teaching of literature, and (d) evaluation of the teaching of literature.

The Research Facilities Task Unit arranges (a) research handbooks, (b) the division's inventory, (c) the division's correspondence, and (d) the division's reports.

The Lexicography and Terminology Division has the following functions: (1) to do research on and to compile terms from various disciplines in Bahasa Indonesia, (2) to do research on and to compile dictionaries of Bahasa Indonesia, dictionaries of regional languages, and dictionaries of terminology, and (3) to do research on and to compile encyclopedias in Bahasa Indonesia. This division has five task units.

The Indonesian Lexicography Task Unit (a) studies written materials in Indonesian as a source for Indonesian dictionaries, (b) studies the Indonesian lexicon, (c) processes data for the preparation of Indonesian dictionaries, (d) writes and edits Indonesian dictionary manuscripts, (e) makes card files for Indonesian dictionaries, and (f) revises dictionaries of Bahasa Indonesia.

The Regional Language Lexicography Task Unit performs activities similar to those of the Indonesian Lexicography Task Unit, except that it does not have the task of revising dictionaries.

The Special Lexicography Task Unit (a) studies written materials in Indonesian and foreign languages as a source for special dictionaries, (b) studies the Indonesian lexicon and illustrations, (c) processes data for the preparation of special dictionaries, (d) writes and edits special dictionary manuscripts, and (e) makes card files for special dictionaries.

The Terminology Task Unit (a) studies written materials in Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages as a source of terms, (b) studies the lexicon and terms in Indonesian, regional, and foreign languages, (c) processes data for terminology, (d) writes and edits dictionaries or lists of terms, and (e) makes card files.

The Work Facilities Task Unit performs tasks similar to those performed by the Research Facilities Task Units in the two preceding divisions.

The Development of Indonesian and Regional Language and Literature Division has six functions: (1) to formulate policies in the development of language and literature, (2) to give suggestions and opinions about the teaching of language and literature in the educational institutions, (3) to choose literary works and writings about language for translation, (4) to prepare informative materials on the development of language and literature, (5) to set up linguistic documentation and libraries, and (6) to publish research and counseling outputs. The division also has six task units.

The Counseling Task Unit (a) arranges counseling in language and literature, (b) provides consultative materials for the teaching of language and literature, and (c) studies the development of language counseling.

The Publication Task Unit arranges and develops publications.

The Library and Documentation Task Unit (a) arranges the provision of documentary and library materials, (b) arranges the provision of informative materials, and (c) develops documentation and library functions.

The Translation Task Unit (a) processes materials for translation, (b) studies the progress of translations, and (c) translates works on language and literature.

The Foreign Language Teaching Task Unit studies (a) foreign language learning motivation, (b) foreign language teaching materials and instruments, (c) foreign language teaching curricula, (d) foreign language teaching test and evaluation systems, and (e) foreign language teaching and education systems.

The Policy Development Task Unit (a) processes informative materials for policy development and (b) studies the growth of policy development (Departmen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan 1978b, II).

In carrying out its activities, NCLD is supported by two projects with grants from the national development fund: the Indonesian and Regional Language and Literature Research project and the Indonesian and Regional Language and Literature Development Project. Operationally, the two projects and NCLD work out detailed activities to implement the Second Five-Year Development Plan.

With the support of the two projects, NCLD has carried out the following activities during the 1974-1978 period:

- (1) research on language aspects of Bahasa Indonesia and regional languages;
- (2) research on language teaching of Indonesian and regional languages;
- (3) standardization of Indonesian and regional languages;

- (4) research on the development of literature in Indonesian and regional languages;
- (5) research on the teaching of literature in Indonesian and regional languages;
- (6) cultivation of Indonesian and regional literatures;
- (7) research on and compilation of terms for various disciplines;
- (8) research on and writing of dictionaries of Indonesian and regional languages and dictionaries of scientific terms;
- (9) upgrading courses in lexicography, sociolinguistic research, dialectology, language counseling, translation, literary research, and morphology-syntax;
- (10) apportionment of scholarships and grants to students of language and literature departments;
- (11) holding of writing contests in Bahasa Indonesia for students at the primary, secondary, and university levels and for primary school teachers;
- (12) manuscript writing and publication of dictionaries, spelling manuals, a terminology manual, and a grammar writing manual;
- (13) writing of texts for language counseling, literary appreciation, and publication and publication of Bahasa dan Sastra and Pengajaran Bahasa dan Sastra journals;
- (14) construction of a master plan for the development of language and literature;
- (15) advancement of communication through various meetings and discussions, such as (a) Seminar on National Language Policy, (b) Seminar on the Development of Regional Literature, (c) Seminar on the Development of Indonesian Literature, (d) working sessions (twice yearly) of the Committee for the Development of Bahasa Indonesia, (e) Conference on Regional Language

and Literature, (f) Conference on Indonesian Language and Literature, and (g) Third Congress of Bahasa Indonesia; and

- (16) cultivation of cooperation in language matters with countries in the ASEAN region, Europe, America, and Australia. (Laporan Tahunan 1979, 5-6)

Much has been done by NCLD. Instead of making a long list of what NCLD has done, the following figures may give some indication of the extent of its work: linguistic studies (120 manuscripts); studies in Indonesian and regional literatures (46 manuscripts); studies in language and literature teaching (71 manuscripts); dictionary of terms (56 manuscripts); language journals (30 issues); dictionaries (17 titles); seminar reports (5 titles); manuals (7 titles); others (8 titles).

The Universities

In the universities, the study of Bahasa Indonesia is conducted by the Department of Indonesian Language and Literature of the Faculty of Letters. Only ten of the thirty state universities have such a faculty. The Department of Indonesian Language and Literature is the core department of every Faculty of Letters.

Students in the Department of Indonesian Language and Literature study for three or four years to get their bachelor's degree. The undergraduate level produces graduates with the same general background. At the graduate level, the students are channelled into two or three different streams: the linguistic stream, the literature stream, and the philology stream.

The number of graduates of these departments is regrettably low. This is unfortunate in view of the steady increase of research opportunities, not only those coming from the universities but also those coming from other sources, especially NCLD. The staff members of the departments of Indonesian language and literature are often very busy doing research projects in addition to lecturing.

CONCLUSION

Despite the tremendous progress that has been achieved by the national language, Indonesia still faces an immense task in developing the language into a truly modern means of communication.

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CREOLE AND THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN MAURITIUS

Vinesh. Y. Hookoomsing

The aim of this paper is to present an overall view of the language situation in Mauritius with special emphasis on Mauritian Creole. The reason for such emphasis is twofold: firstly, Creole is potentially the national language of Mauritius since everyone speaks or can speak Creole, even if it is not officially recognized as such. Secondly, it is the author's firm belief that the advancement of Mauritian Creole will serve the cause of nation-building in a society where linguistic, religious, and ethnic loyalties are too often used as weapons to defend or promote socioeconomic interests and privileges.

INTRODUCTION

Brief History

Mauritius, situated about 500 miles east of Madagascar, has a population of more than 900,000 people concentrated on 720 square miles of land. The island was known to the Arabs as early as the twelfth century. During the sixteenth century the Portuguese came to know of its existence as well as

that of the surrounding islands, referred to thereafter as the Mascarene islands. It was, however, the Dutch who during the seventeenth century made the first attempts to settle on the island. These proved unsuccessful and the Dutch withdrew in 1710, leaving a few runaway slaves behind. In 1715, the French took possession of the island, which was effectively occupied six years later when a group of French settlers arrived with their slaves from the neighboring island of Reunion (then called Bourbon). Commenting on this settlement, Phillip Baker (1972) writes: "From this event onward the peopling of Mauritius may be seen as a series of overlapping waves of immigration, each wave bringing with it new customs and languages."

In 1810, the island was captured by the British, and the Capitulation Treaty signed between the two colonial powers contained safeguards in favor of the language, customs, and religion of the French settlers. After the abolition of slavery in 1835, Indian labor was imported on a massive scale, with the result that twenty-five years later the Indians became the majority group on the island. During the latter part of the twentieth century, Chinese immigrants also began to settle on the island.

In 1968, Mauritius became independent after more than 150 years of British rule.

Ethnic Composition of the Population

According to the 1972 census, the population of Mauritius was 826,199, identified by ethnic group was follows: Hindus

428,167 (51.8 percent); Muslims 137,081 (16.6 percent); Chinese 24,084 (2.9 percent); and general population 236,867 (28.7 percent).

These ethnic groupings are based on the distinctions laid down in Schedule 1, section 34, of the Mauritian Constitution:

For the purposes of this schedule, the population of Mauritius shall be regarded as including a Hindu community, a Muslim community and a Sino-Mauritian community, and every person who does not appear, from his way of life, to belong to one or other of those three communities shall be regarded as belonging to the General Population, which shall itself be regarded as a fourth community.

LANGUAGE POLICY

The Official Language

The formulation of a clear-cut language policy for independent multiethnic Mauritius has thus far been avoided, presumably for political reasons. Section 49 of the Constitution, subtitled "Official language," simply states: "The official language of the Assembly shall be English but any member may address the chair in French."

On the other hand, Section 33 of the Constitution, which deals with qualifications for membership in the Assembly, is more than explicit on the question of language qualification:

A person shall be qualified to be elected as a member of

the Assembly if, and shall not be qualified unless, he is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English Language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly.

The position of English as the official language of the Assembly is interpreted to mean that English is automatically the official language of the country. In the same way, the fact that French may be used to address the chair is taken to imply some kind of semiofficial status for that language.

Language in Law

The absence of precise constitutional regulations concerning language use in the state apparatuses may be considered as an implicit acceptance of the conventions or legal enactments established during the colonial period. For instance, the language policy still in force in the courts of justice was established in the nineteenth century during the British colonial period.

In 1945 an ordinance was passed, known as The Courts Ordinance, "to consolidate and amend the law relating to the organization and jurisdiction of the Courts of Law in Mauritius." Several sections of this ordinance, considered to be a fundamental reference document, deal with language use at the different levels of the Mauritian legal system. Thus, according to Section 14 of the ordinance:

The official language to be used in the Supreme Court of Mauritius shall be English. Provided that in any case where any person appearing before the Court satisfies

the Court that he does not possess a competent knowledge of the English Language, he may give his evidence or make any statement in the language with which he is best acquainted.

The question that automatically arises out of the provisions of the above section is that of interpretation and translation. This is dealt with in Section 31 of the ordinance:

It shall be lawful for the Governor to appoint such number of persons as may be necessary possessing a competent knowledge of the Chinese, Hindi, Hindustani, Gujrathi, Tamil or Telegu languages, whose duty it shall be to interpret where necessary the oral proceedings before the Supreme Court into English and to translate any documents submitted to the Court or forming part of the record of any case from any such language into English.

Judging from these provisions, it would seem that the problem of interpretation and translation arises specially when the Chinese and Indian languages are involved. However, Section 175, which is subtitled "translation of evidence given in a foreign language," stipulates further that

Whenever in any proceedings before the Supreme Court whether civil, criminal or in bankruptcy or of any other nature whatsoever, or before any other Court, a witness or a party gives evidence in a language other than English, such evidence shall, subject to the provisions of Sections 176 and 189 of this Ordinance, be translated into English and shall be recorded and form part of the record.

The provisions contained in Sections 176 and 189 deal with situations in which the language used by a witness or a party

is not English but is known to all the parties concerned as well as to the judges and law officers:

176. Whenever in any proceeding before the Supreme Court on the civil side or the Master or the Judge in Bankruptcy, a witness speaks in a language which is well known to both plaintiff and defendant as the case may be, the Judges, Law Officers of the Crown, the Master of the Judge in Bankruptcy and the Counsel engaged in the case, the examination of such witness or person may take place in such language and it shall not be necessary to translate the deposition or answers in English, except when the depositions or answers are given in Creole and such depositions or answers so given must be taken down by the Registrar or other officer of the Court.
189. Whenever a trial before a Judge of the Supreme Court either with or without a jury, a witness speaks in a language which is well understood by the accused, by all the juries, as well as by the Judge, the law officers of the Crown and the Counsel engaged in the case, the examination of the witness may take place in such language and it shall not be necessary to translate the deposition in English.

The status of English as the official language of the Supreme Court is thus clearly spelled out. The ordinance even goes to the extent of stipulating that in order to serve on a jury a person has to be sufficiently conversant with the English language (Section 57).

In district courts, English remains the official language, but any person may address the court in French, according to Section 90, which further stipulates:

- (1) Whenever any person giving evidence satisfies the Court that he does not possess a competent knowledge of the English or French language, he may give his evidence in the language with which he is best acquainted.
- (2) Whenever any person appearing before the Court gives his evidence in a language other than English or French, the proceedings, if the Magistrate so directs, shall be translated into that language.

The mention of French as an alternative language that can be used in the district courts is the result of a compromise between the British colonial authorities and the Franco-Mauritians that goes back to 1862 when it was finally agreed to restrict the use of English as an official language to the Supreme Court only. The argument of the Franco-Mauritians was based on one of the clauses of the 1810 Capitulation Treaty signed between France and England. The clause in question guaranteed among other things that the French settlers on the island would maintain their religion, laws, and customs.

Actually, the compromise goes far beyond the language issue. Section 155 of the ordinance states, for example, that:

The law in force and to be administered and applied by the Courts of the Colony consists of:

- (a) English law declared by an act of Parliament to apply to any colony or made to apply to Mauritius by Order-in-Council or otherwise;
- (b) French law as applied to the Colony at any time by an enactment still in force in the Colony, to the extent that the latter has not been subsequently repealed.

The terms used here remind us that the ordinance was passed in 1945, when Mauritius was still a British colony.

The overall result is that the legal system in Mauritius is in fact a blending of two legal systems: the court system has been copied from the English model, and the procedure it follows is the same as that of the model, but most of its laws are essentially French-inspired.

Language in the Government Media

The daily programs offered by the radio and television service operated by the Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), a state institution, reflect in a significant way the official attitude toward language in Mauritius.

Officially, the MBC takes into account the linguistic, cultural, and ethnic set up of Mauritian society in the allocation of its program time. To quote an official document published on the tenth anniversary of the television service of the MBC:

To reflect the diverse cultures of the communities that compose the socio-ethnic mosaic of Mauritian society, the MBC broadcasts in twelve languages. English, French and Hindustani naturally occupy a major share of programme-time since these are common to a vast majority of the population. Other minority groups have however been allocated separate transmission time for programmes in their own languages.

I have underlined the explanation given because it is pure wishful thinking. The language census figures given below, as well as the accompanying comments, will undoubtedly offer a less biased assessment.

In actual practice, the weekly radio time allocation by language calculated according to the figures published in the same document shows an overwhelming predominance of French (see Table 1).

Table 1. Weekly Time Allocation by Mauritius Broadcasting Corporation.

Language	News Bulletins	Total Broadcast Time (including news bulletins)
French	378 minutes	77.5 hours
English	175 minutes	
Hindustani	210 minutes	28.5 hours
Hakka	30 minutes	2 hours
Cantonese	15 minutes	1.5 hours
Hindi		1 hour
Urdu		1 hour
Tamil		1.5 hours
Telegu		1 hour
Gujrathi		1 hour
Marathi		1 hour

Table 1 calls for several comments. The extract quoted from the document mentions twelve languages, but only eleven are listed. Since regular short programs in Creole on health, family planning, agriculture and other topics of adult education are a common feature, one has to conclude that the twelfth language is presumably Creole. The allocation for French and English has been calculated in block because separate figures are not available. Actually, a breakdown of the total figure of 77.5 hours will give roughly a ratio of 1 to 4 in favor of French. The total transmission time allocated to the Indian and Chinese languages is 38.5 hours, which represents only 50 percent of the time allocated to the European languages.

As far as the television service is concerned, most of the programs are in French, English, and Hindustani, with French getting the lion's share of the transmission time. Indeed, approximately half of the total weekly transmission time, which is 60 hours, is made up of programs in French, the other half being more or less equally shared between English and Hindustani. These proportions are actually reflected in the total weekly news transmission time by language concerned as shown by the following figures:

News in French	175 minutes	(weekly total)
News in English	105 minutes	(weekly total)
News in Hindustani	70 minutes	(weekly total)

It should, however, be pointed out that there is some variation in the number and duration of television programs in French and English, owing to the fact that the service is heavily dependent upon imported programs.

Another factor that further affects--though not very significantly for the moment--the weekly transmission time of French and English is the increasing recourse to Creole on television. Apart from the regular adult education programs run by the different ministries, there is a growing tendency to use Creole in programs geared towards a wide audience or dealing with a problem felt to be of national importance. It has thus become current practice for ministers to regularly address the nation--or be interviewed--in Creole. The annual budget, for instance, which is presented in English in the Assembly, is explained to the nation in Creole by the minister of finance himself during a special televised program of more than one hour.

Lastly, mention must be made of the special programs and shows run by the MBC during the religious and cultural festivals and celebrations that are quite frequent in multiethnic, multicultural Mauritius. In this connection, one of the duties of the MBC, as laid down in the MBC Act of 1970, is precisely to "conduct broadcasting services with impartial attention to the interests and susceptibilities of the different communities in Mauritius and with due regard to the interests of minority communities in Mauritius."

Two other subsections on the duties of the MBC are directly relevant to our point, since they deal with its language policy. Significantly, the position of French, along with English, is implicitly underlined:

The Corporation shall

(a) provide independent and impartial broadcasting ser-

vices of information, education and entertainment in the English, French and such other oriental languages or dialects as the Corporation may, with the approval of the Minister, determine for reception with Mauritius.

- (b) include in its sound and television programme a daily service of news which shall be broadcast in the English, French and such oriental languages or dialects as the Corporation way, with the approval of the Minister, decide.

Language in Education

Curiously, this official recognition of the place of French in the government media is absent from the 1957 Education Ordinance--which still governs the education system--in spite of the fact that the French language is studied right from the first year of school by practically all the children. On the other hand, the dominant position of English is emphatically spelled out in Section 43 of the Regulations of the Ordinance, which deals with the medium of instruction:

- (1) In the lower classes of Government and aided primary schools up to and including standard III, any one language may be employed as the medium of instruction being a language which in the opinion of the Director is most suitable for the pupils.
- (2) In Standards IV, V and VI of the Government and aided primary schools the medium of instruction shall be English, and conversations between teacher and pupils shall be carried on in English: provided that lessons in any other language taught in the school shall be carried on through the medium of that language.
- (3) The Director may make provision for the teaching of languages other than English which are current in

the Colony, and for their study in any Government and aided primary school, and may require an Education Authority to make arrangements for such teaching in any of the primary schools under its control.

The "languages other than English" refer to French and to the "identity languages" of the major subgroups of the Indo-Mauritian community.

While French and, to a lesser extent, the languages of the major Indo-Mauritian subgroups do enjoy official recognition, Creole, on the other hand, is still struggling for approval even though, paradoxically, it is highly valued as a medium of communication between the government and the people, especially when important issues are at stake. Within the population itself, the attitude toward Creole has progressively changed, and this is reflected in the substantial increase in the number of speakers who identified Creole as their L1 in the 1972 census. While the 1962 census showed only 42 percent of the population indicating Creole as the language currently spoken at home, ten years later the figure had reached 52 percent.

THE LANGUAGE PICTURE AS SHOWN BY THE 1972 CENSUS

The language questions contained in the census form were aimed at identifying (1) the linguistic group through the language of forefathers and (2) the language usually spoken at home. The figures obtained for (1) and (2) are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Mauritian Language Characteristics in 1972.

Language	Population by language of forefathers	Percent	Population by language usually spoken	Percent
Chinese	20,608	(2.5)	9,416	(1.1)
Creole	272,975	(33.0)	428,427	(52.0)
English	2,402	(0.3)	2,272	(0.3)
French	36,729	(4.4)	39,234	(4.7)
Gujrathi	2,028	(0.2)	403	(0.05)
Hindi	320,881	(38.9)	262,191	(31.8)
Marathi	16,553	(2.0)	12,036	(1.5)
Tamil	56,757	(6.9)	29,094	(3.5)
Telegu	24,233	(2.9)	17,634	(2.1)
Urdu	71,668	(8.7)	23,470	(2.8)
Other	1,134	(0.1)	876	(0.1)
Not stated	1,131	(0.1)	1,146	(0.1)

The figures in Table 2 call for several comments. It makes no difference whether the language of forefathers is actually spoken or not. Its only purpose is to classify the Indo-Mauritian group into different ethnico-linguistic sub-groups. To quote Pierre Moorghen and Nicole Domingue (1976), "The name of a language obviously serves here as an indicator of a set of cultural factors which appear significant to those who share them." Very few people in Mauritius speak Hindi or Urdu. The language actually used by many Mauritians of Indian origin, especially in the countryside, is in fact

Bhojpuri, which is not listed on the census form. According to Moorghen and Domingue (1976),

Bhojpuri. . . . is widely spoken in Mauritius but is not claimed as a cultural indicator for two reasons. First, it enjoys no prestige whatever and most of its speakers believe that it is only an adulterated version of Hindi/Urdu. Second, it fails to distinguish between two communities, Hindus and Muslims, who feel that such a distinction must be made clear at all times. "Hindi" then means that the speaker is Hindu and belongs to the Bhojpuri speaking community, while "Urdu" indicates that the speaker is a Muslim, also belonging to the community of Bhojpuri speakers.

If Creole appears on the list of languages, this does not imply any official recognition. This is emphasized by the accompanying statement: "For the purposes of the census only, 'creole patois' should be considered as a language." From a more general point of view, the census does not reflect the real linguistic situation, which is highly complex. It does not, for example, take into account one essential feature, multilingualism. The majority of Mauritians are either bi- or multilingual, Creole being an almost automatic component of their language repertoire.

LANGUAGE CONFLICTS

In spite of the inadequacies of the census figures, it is possible to detect some major trends which, in the absence of any large-scale survey, can nevertheless be confirmed by observation and direct experience. For example, it is a fact

that the "ancestral languages" have lost speakers in varying degrees, with the exception of French, English, and especially Creole. As Moorghen and Domingue (1976) rightly point out,

The gains of speakers for French and English are minimal and probably represent an increase in upper middle class membership. Those registered for Creole are such that in 1972 more than half of the total population declared creole as the language of their home. No doubt, this gain reflects the losses encountered by the other languages.

In fact, the substantial gain of speakers for Creole is indicative of a post-independence trend in favor of that language, which has become more pronounced over the last few years.

There is obviously no automatic correlation between the number of speakers and the status of a language. The increasing number of Ll Creole speakers as well as the more diversified use of that language have undoubtedly reinforced its position. Nevertheless, it still has some way to go to achieve full recognition and spontaneous acceptance in all spheres of life.

The role and status of Creole will be dealt with in more depth later on. It would perhaps be more appropriate at this stage to speak of the current language situation characterized to some extent by a set of French-dominated language conflicts. We shall attempt, at the risk of oversimplification, to describe the major aspects of these language conflicts, which can be summarized as French versus oriental languages, French versus English, and French versus Creole.

French Versus Oriental Languages

The mother tongue of the Mauritians of French origin, who control practically the whole economy of the island, French appears to be the conflict language par excellence and continues to be identified as a symbol of the power and privileges of this minority. Furthermore, the dominant position of the French language in the mass media and in the literary field is to a large extent a reflection of the sugar-based oligarchy.

This privileged position of French is greatly strengthened by--and is an important asset to--the linguistic and cultural policy of French and of French-inspired international agencies committed to the spread and reinforcement of the "franco-phonie" in this geopolitically important part of the world. French language and culture are thus actively propagated by agencies that are directly run and controlled by the French embassy and by locally sponsored agencies often financed and equipped by the French embassy, which serve as clearing houses for its cultural programs and activities. Mauritius and most of its academic, research, and media institutions are members of practically all the international organizations that regroup states or institutions considered as being "partially or entirely French-speaking."

Against this background of Franco-Mauritian dominance in the economic, social, linguistic, and cultural spheres, the historically more recent Indo-Mauritian bourgeoisie, by identifying its class interests and ambitions with those of the majority community to which it belongs, has constantly drawn

on the latter's linguistic cultural and spiritual resources in its strategy for economic and political advancement. The spirit in which these community resources have been--and are being--developed is sufficiently ambiguous to make it difficult to draw the line between a genuine and legitimate desire to promote a common heritage and a calculated move to use these resources as potential weapons in the struggle for power.

Today, Hindi, Urdu, Tamil, Telegu, Marathi, and Mandarin form part of the primary and secondary curriculum. The maintenance and promotion of these languages have traditionally been looked after by several privately sponsored agencies set up by the relevant ethnic subgroups. The creation in 1970 of the Mahatma Gandhi Institute (MGI)--a state institution that started as a joint venture of the government of India and the government of Mauritius--has resulted in a greater degree of coordination and centralization of efforts and initiatives in the domain of oriental languages and cultures. The MGI, whose object is to serve as "a center of studies of Indian culture and traditions and for the promotion of education and culture generally," is increasingly becoming the symbol in Mauritius of the oriental languages and cultures in general, and of the Hindi language and literature in particular.

The progressive rise of the oriental languages and cultures is often presented as a threat to the position of French in the same way that the spread of French is often interpreted as an obstacle to the advancement of the oriental languages, particularly Hindi. The roots of such linguistic

prejudices are in fact historical, political, and economic. In an old article dealing with education in Mauritius, Burton Benedict (1958) aptly summarized the problem of French and the oriental languages as follows:

Politically, especially for the Indo-Mauritian, the French language has come to symbolize the economic and political dominance of the Franco-Mauritian. The Franco-Mauritian and upper-class Creole also tend to see any attacks on the French language as an attempt to undermine their positions in Mauritian Society. . . .

In spite of its privileged position and long establishment in the island, French has not become the language of Mauritius, but only one of its languages identified with a single ethnic group. This group has long been the dominant one. Its dominance, politically if not economically, is being usurped chiefly by the Indians. The symbols of that dominance are under attack. The privileged position of the French language is one of those symbols. The Indians wish to place French on the same plane as the Indian languages, as an elective subject in the schools.

More than twenty years later, the situation does not seem to have changed to any significant extent, if one considers the recent turmoil following a government decision to make French optional and at par with the oriental languages in view of the forthcoming certificate of primary education. Franco-Mauritian and urban Creole vested interests, backed by the Catholic church, vehemently opposed the government proposal, which was perceived as a calculated move to enhance the chances of the Indo-Mauritian child to be selected by the best secondary schools in the island.

To counter the pro-French campaign, several committees for

the defense of the oriental languages and cultures were set up throughout the island, and the conflict between French and oriental languages soon became an ethnico-political issue. Finally, the government proposal was withdrawn and the status quo temporarily maintained.

French Versus English

By forcing the pro-French pressure groups to adopt a defensive attitude, the French/oriental languages issue has to a certain extent overshadowed a more fundamental conflict which opposes French to English.

The status of English as the official language of the country and as the medium of instruction can only be explained by reference to the colonial background of the island, which was under British rule for more than 150 years. Contrary to French, English does not really enjoy the status of a locally used language, since the number of L1 English speakers on the island is negligible. In point of fact, the British never made any serious effort to promote the English language locally. The result is that English remains to a large extent a written language used for official and administrative purposes. However, as Robert Chaudenson (1974) points out,

Middle and upper-middle class Mauritians of Indian origin will, in the presence of French-speaking foreigners or in a formal setting, prefer English to French even if their knowledge of French is equal or even superior to that of English. This is due to the fact that the use of French is linked with an acute feeling of insecurity, the origin of which is twofold. First, French is con-

sidered as a language fraught with strong norms and constraints; second, it is, or is perceived as, the mother tongue of the white aristocracy and the very symbol of its ancestral superiority.

This would explain to some extent the lack of enthusiastic response to the argument often put forward by the pro-French pressure groups and by some educators (irrespective of their ethnic origin) that French, being a locally used language that has linguistic affinities with Creole, should supersede English, especially in education.

There is no doubt that French is perceived as a prestigious language; but it has the disadvantage of strong racial and bourgeois connotations. English, on the other hand, enjoys perhaps less prestige locally (largely compensated, however, by its wider international status); but it has the advantage of being perceived as a neutral language. It is presumably for this reason that the recent decision of the British government to close down the Mauritian branch of the British Council came as a shock, for it meant inevitably a weakening of the position of English in Mauritius. It must be pointed out that the British Council was the main--if not the sole--agency looking after the interests of the English language and literature. Recently, a locally sponsored Mauritius British Cultural Association has been set up, but it is doubtful whether it will be able to fill the gap left by the closing of the British Council.

French Versus Creole

If the French/English rivalry can, in simplistic terms, be

ceived as a threat to the existing economic, social, political, and cultural set-up. Fears were expressed that French and English would be eradicated, that the oriental languages would be banned, and that Mauritius would be forced into the linguistic and cultural ghetto of Creole.

With the years, emotions have cooled down, and the party has adapted its original language analysis (which was somewhat crude) to the complexity of the situation. The anti-Creole attitudes too have softened under the influence of the movement in favor of Creole. The present trend would therefore seem to indicate that we are heading toward some form of peaceful linguistic coexistence.

CREOLE AND THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE ISSUE

Mention was made at the beginning of this paper that Creole can be considered a potential national language on the basis of the fact that everybody in Mauritius speaks or can speak Creole. This criterion, essential as it is, is nevertheless not sufficient, since there are other conditions too that have to be satisfied.

In this connection, the search for national consciousness and identity that has emerged since independence has had important repercussions on the development of Creole as well as on the perception of the role and function of this language. To put it briefly, the search for national consciousness and identity is based on the concept of "Mauritiansim," which can be defined as a dynamic blending of existing cultures and

traditions. The linguistic medium best qualified to achieve this synthesis is precisely Creole. But, as we said earlier, centuries-old prejudice had denied Creole the credentials of a full-fledged language. It was therefore necessary, as a preliminary exercise, so to speak, to rehabilitate Creole as a language.

A Language In Its Own Right

In this process of status raising, the contribution of modern linguistics has been a determining factor. The publication in 1972 of Philip Baker's Kreol: A Description of Mauritian Creole represented a major breakthrough. Baker is also the author of a correspondence course in Mauritian Creole for English-speaking foreigners. The course did not have great success, but the very fact that it existed was psychologically important in the sense that it showed Creole had to be learned like any other language.

The establishment of an adequate writing system constituted the next stage in the development of Creole. In the past, Creole was written in a haphazard fashion that was felt to be justified in the case of a language considered to be a mere collection of bits and pieces of broken French. This could no longer be tolerated and in the late 1960s, Dev Virhasawmy proposed a rationalized writing system based on phonetic principles. More or less simultaneously, Baker came up with a slightly different but still phonetic-based orthography. The enthusiasm with which modified writing systems have subsequently been produced on basically identical principles is

becoming counterproductive because of the confusion created. In 1976, Baker wrote his M. Phil. thesis on the social history of Mauritian Creole, and he is currently working on a Creole dictionary and on a study of the origin of Creole, which he has provisionally entitled, "On the Origins of the First Mauritians and of the Creole Language of Their Descendants" (personal communication).

Creole as a Literary Medium

The instrument having now been forged, the question was how to put it to use. Creole was already the oral medium of political expression; it now began to be used for writing left-wing pamphlets and theoretical literature. A proposal was also put forward to allow parliamentary discussions in Creole. The rejection of the proposal, which of course was expected, emphasized the position of Creole as the language of militancy, a title it had already earned in the field of poetry and drama.

The last ten years constitute indeed a flourishing period of creative writing in Creole, dominated by the forceful style of two major poets and playwrights, Dev Virahsawmy and Henri Favory. The quality of their writings has easily destroyed the long-entertained myth of the inherent incapacity of Creole in the field of literary expression.

Creole in Education

In education, the importance of Creole in the development

- Year III: - French (written)
 - English (oral)
 - Oriental language
 (oral)

These proposals are still under study, but the chance of their acceptance are remote. In fact, the discussions that have followed within the newly set up Primary Curriculum Project indicate that the status quo is likely to prevail. However, in the absence--or rather, in spite of the absence--of any official recommendations, several private pre-primary organizations are at present using Creole or Creole and French in instruction. Recently, one of these organizations launched a national competition of children's stories in Creole and French in order to promote child literature in these languages.

The Future Outlook

The development of Creole and the expansion of its uses and functions outlined above indicate sufficiently that the conditions required for an official recognition of Creole as a major language of Mauritius are not as remote as one may think.

The population's attitude toward Creole, which is an influential criterion in terms of acceptance of such a decision, seems to have greatly evolved during the past years. This is substantiated by the findings of an opinion poll carried out in 1977 by the SFRES, a well-known French agency. The object of the opinion poll, which was sponsored by the leading bodies of the private sector in Mauritius, was to

evaluate the impact of the 1976 general elections--the first to be held after independence--on the attitude of the average Mauritian. A whole chapter of the poll was devoted to linguistic problems, more specifically Creole. The main findings on this question are summarized here:

	<u>For</u>	<u>Against</u>
Creole at school	60%	35%
Creole an official language	66%	25%
Increased use of Creole on radio and television	80%	16%

The same year, the opposition party, the Movement Militant Mauricien, obtained control over three of the five towns, including Port-Louis, the city-capital, in the municipal elections. One of the major decisions taken by the party during its municipal mandate was to introduce Creole as a working language of the three town councils under its control.

By bestowing an official status upon Creole at the municipal level, the opposition party clearly indicated its future language policy. Following the pattern already established in the Seychelles, an opposition government might eventually opt for official multilingualism with Creole, French, English, and Hindi or Bhojpuri--most probably Hindi--as the official languages. Alternatively, it might opt for the African formula, which distinguishes between official and national languages, in which case English, French, and Hindi would probably be adopted as official languages and Creole and Bhojpuri as national languages--a formula that might be resorted to in order to avoid the embarrassment of having to choose between Hindi and Bhojpuri.

Actually, whatever the political party in power, it is difficult to envisage the continued maintenance of the present language policy--or rather the lack of it. Even under the present government, it has become an established practice to issue important official communiques of an urgent nature, such as cyclone bulletins, in four languages, namely, English, French, Creole, and Hindi.

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THE POLITICS OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN TAMIL NADU

M. Chidambaram

The logic of language planning is dictated by the recognition of language as a social resource and is due to communication-
al and identifi-
c values attached by the community to one or more languages (Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971). Language planning becomes especially significant and a primary task in a postcolonial multilingual society, which must undo the official status enjoyed by the foreign language and must strive to promote the native languages.

Careful policy decisions are essential in promoting the indigenous languages and replacing the imported language. These policy decisions must consider the number of languages spoken by the people, the quality of such languages, the tradition behind them, the number of people employing each language, and the political, theological, and other leverages attached to them. After a policy decision is made, an effective will and machinery to implement those decisions are also essential. Only then can planning in this field register some measure of success.

Planning involves a deep analysis of goals, means, and resources and coordination among them. A clear statement of goals, resources to enforce decisions, the chalking out of

means, and the delegation of powers to the coordinating agency must be worked out in advance. In this, the government of a society has a big role to play.

Insofar as language planning is concerned, the government can lay down policy decisions in accordance with the wishes of the people, or the government must have the confidence to convince the people if it takes a decision. Secondly, the government must create an enforcement machinery with real powers to implement decisions. Thirdly, the government must create an awareness among the public of the contribution of language planning to social progress and modernization).

This paper inquires whether there is proper language planning in Tamil society. While doing so, it analyzes the role of the government in this field with regard to policy making, implementation, and the creation and sustaining of consciousness.

THE FORCES SUPPORTING TAMIL

Prior to the present century, "Tamil consciousness" hardly existed. The Tamil force was consolidated on its own ancient soil during the first half of the present century. At one stage in 1913, Tamil was not even an acceptable language for a student paper at Madras University (Kazhaham 1979). A Congress Party meeting was conducted for the first time in Tamil in 1918 when Dr. Varadarajulu Naidu addressed the public in Tamil. When the franchise was extended, the Justice Party, most of whose top leaders were non-Tamils, came to power.

The Justice party had no desire to become a mass party and made no particular attempt to work in Tamil (Irschick 1969, 306). Tamil was used for mass contact by the Congress Party, which was fighting for the freedom of India. The Congress Party had a band of Tamil orators like Kalyanasundaram (Thiru Vika), Subramanya Bharathi, Sathyamurthy, and Subramanya Siva. Periyar E.V. Ramasamy was known for his simple style in the vernacular. It was only after the 1938 anti-Hindi agitation, organized by E.V. Ramasamy and carried out by C.N. Annadurai that the Tamil force began to gather strength. Annadurai, a promising young orator in Tamil and equally good at English, kindled the fire of Tamil consciousness. His role as a student leader of the Justice Party, as an active lieutenant of the DK and founding leader of the DMK, and as chief minister of Tamil Nadu induced a miraculous growth of the Tamil force. His chaste Tamil and relentless efforts quickly gathered the support of students, teachers, workers, government servants, and the intelligentsia.

In spite of its advantages as the party that won freedom, the party that used Tamil early, the party that possessed good Tamil orators and had enjoyed power since independence, the Congress Party failed to realize the importance of linguistic loyalty. Their nationalistic approach to problems might have prevented them from advocating Tamil nationalism. The communist parties found it hard to compete with such politics. They purposely avoided the added importance of the linguistic factor. Thus, beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, Tamil consciousness came to dominate academic, intellectual, and political life. It is not wrong to state that Tamil con-

sciousness would not have grown to such levels but for the political backing extended by the DMK. From 1950 onward, Tamil consciousness invariably demanded that Tamil be made the administrative, court, and educational language.

THE FORCES SUPPORTING ENGLISH

Macaulay's Minute of 1835 sowed the seed of English education, which has produced many a generation of English-speaking Indian elites. Being an international language and the associate official language, English has the wholehearted support of Indian elites at present. Until independence, English was the sole language of administration, the courts, and education for a century (Indian Civil Service from 1772, education from 1853, and the courts from 1862) (The Hindu, March 1, 1970). For nearly a decade after independence the Madras Presidency could not think about the development of Tamil since Madras was the capital city for the composite Presidency. The city had an influx of a sizeable number of non-Tamils from three neighboring states. The non-Tamils entered into various professions, and to serve their interests they came to prefer English. Even after independence, this tradition was maintained. The bureaucrats who were trained in the colonial language successfully influenced the neopolitical leaders of the native soil to retain English. Universities, college teachers, lawyers, doctors, engineers, scientists, and others preferred to retain English. Even the middle and lower middle classes are influenced by the upper strata along the same line. In order to avoid Hindi, the DK,

DMK, and AIADMK prefer English. In fact, the Dravidian movement's success to a great extent was due to its nonopposition to English. Since the movement was not against English, the people accepted it. Since those Indian elites who knew English believed that their interest would not be affected by the Dravidian movement, they extended their support. The Congress Party and its splinters maintained a neutral stand. The communist parties in Tamil Nadu do not take any extreme stand on this issue, though they are for the replacement of English by Indian Languages. Popular opinion favors English and argues that it opens up vistas for employment throughout India and abroad. That is why most middle-class parents today go for English education for their wards. It was reported that in the final examination for the central services conducted by the UPSC nearly 85 percent of about 7,500 candidates wrote their examinations in English, 900 candidates in Hindi, and thirteen candidates in Tamil (The Hindu, Madras, 26 December 1979).

THE FORCES SUPPORTING HINDI

Being the official language of India and being spoken by more than 40 percent of the Indian population, Hindi has the strongest national force. The national parties in Tamil Nadu accept the status of Hindi. The Dakshina Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha has been silently promoting the learning of Hindi in non-Hindi southern states. The mass media, particularly Hindi films and songs, actively promote Hindi interests. The development of Hindi in the past thirty years is

impressive. Since knowledge of Hindi is an additional qualification for employment, there is a general feeling among Tamil parents that Hindi may be provided as an optional subject in government schools and colleges. The north Indian population that has settled in Madras and in other areas of Tamil Nadu extend their support to Hindi.

LANGUAGE AGITATIONS

Tamil Nadu faced three major agitations between 1938 and 1970. The first language agitation was against the introduction of Hindi as a compulsory subject in high schools in 1938. The second agitation was against Hindi becoming the sole official language of India in 1965. The third, a different agitation, erupted against the imposition of Tamil as a medium of instruction in government colleges in 1970. On the first two occasions, the forces of Tamil and English joined together to oppose the third force. In the 1970 agitation, the divided Tamil force, which joined the English force, took the extreme stand of opposing Tamil-medium education. Even though the divided Tamil force was supported by Tamil-medium students, Tamil scholars, Tamil teachers of schools and colleges, the DK, DMK communist parties, and the Tamil national party of Ma. Po. Sivagnanam, still the government had to yield to the demand of the college students backed by the Congress and other parties.

1938 Hindi Agitation

When C. Rajagopalachari introduced Hindi as a compulsory subject in high schools with the intention of providing an additional language to the Tamil people, it was opposed by Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, who wanted to protect the interests of the non-Brahmin community. An effective orator and a good writer in Tamil, C. Rajagopalachari was one of the strongest advocates of vernacular education. He declared once, "Each one of the greater Indian Languages is sufficiently strong to serve as the language for many universities" (Rajagopalachari 1956). Rajagopalachari was very particular about introducing Hindi in Tamil Nadu, but after analyzing public opinion he gave up his view and fought against Hindi in his last days. The Periyar movement in 1938 was supported by great Tamil scholars like Swami Shammuganantha Bharathi and U.V. Swaminatha Iyer (Nedunchezhan 1948, 3).

The death of Thalamuthu and Natarajan, the first victims of the language movement, and Rajagopalachari's handling of the agitation allowed the movement a stronger base for further struggle. Rajagopalachari began to tackle the matter very stubbornly but ended his dealing with a retreat. Another attempt to introduce Hindi was made in 1946, but it was again withdrawn when there were protests and demonstrations (Parthasarathy 1973, 41).

1965 Anti-Hindi Agitation

The 1965 agitation was, in the beginning, the sole responsibility of the DMK. The anti-Hindi agitation committee was formed under the chairmanship of M. Karunanidhi in August 1963. It was a well-planned and seriously prepared program which began on November 17, 1963, and concluded on January 26, 1965. Party people were instructed to treat January 26, 1965, as a day of mourning. Instead of being a mourner that day, a party worker named Chinnaswamy initiated the sacrifice by self-immolation, leaving his wife and daughter to mourn for him too. This was followed by many such innocent deaths of party workers. When the DMK ended its agitations, the students started their struggle, the first such serious struggle by students in Tamil Nadu. One reason for such a large number of deaths in the agitation was the consistently belligerent stand of the chief minister, Bhaktavatsalam. He banned all meetings of the DMK and arrested all its top leaders. He also refused to meet the student delegation (Prakash 1973, 80). However, the assurances given by Prime Minister Sastri brought Tamil Nadu back to normal.

1970 Agitation

An unofficial resolution to introduce Tamil as a medium of instruction in all government colleges was moved by M.P. Sivagnanam in the Madras Legislative Assembly in December 1970. The Congress members of the Assembly strongly questioned the government stand in encouraging Tamil as the only medium. Members Vinayakam and Karuthiruman joined issue with

Chief Minister Karumanidhi. He retaliated by saying that in ten or fifteen years a law would be made to punish those who did not know Tamil and to force private firms to employ only Tamil-medium graduates. The Assembly proceedings as reported in the newspapers immediately created the anticipated reaction. The English force was happy about it. There were demonstrations, lathi charges, and closure of colleges and schools. The students demanded that there be no imposition of the Tamil medium in colleges. Tamil was introduced as a medium of instruction at the undergraduate level in 1960 when Kamaraj was the chief minister and Subramanian was the education minister. Even after a decade, the extension of the Tamil medium to all colleges and all courses was impossible. Parties like Congress, Swathanthra, and the Muslim League demanded freedom of choice in the medium of instruction. Finally the DMK government yielded to the demand and introduced both mediums in colleges.

Some observations

Certain observations could be made from the language agitations in Tamil Nadu. The first attempt made by C. Rajagopalachari in 1938 did not consider the views of opposite groups. If Hindi had been introduced as an optional subject after convincing the opposition camp, its development might have been entirely different. The agitation and popular upsurges have produced only transient expedients and no permanent solutions. What is surprising is that the 1965 agitation was considered to be the biggest revolt against the Hindi policy, but it did not produce any change in the policy

of the central government. Neither the politicians nor the people took up the matter again or found a solution. If the 1938 and 1965 agitations establish the point that students in Tamil Nadu protested against the Tamil medium, then that means that since 1938, the students and parents of Tamil Nadu have stood for the retention of English. In order to retain English, the students and the English force opposed Hindi in 1938 and 1965 and Tamil in 1970. A permanent feature of these agitations has been the interest of the people in retaining English. The mirage of a better future has created a craze for English in Tamil Nadu. How to convince the parents and younger generation is the real problem. To have English forever is ruled out. The alternative has to be worked out. The difficulty of a democratic setup is that it is an agreement to disagree. The government should succeed by telling the people what is good for them. Beyond a bureaucratic setup, relentless persuasion with immense public cooperation is required to make the masses admit what is good.

TAMIL PLANNING IN TAMIL NADU

Even though Tamil Nadu has no specific language planning or any special cell at the secretariat level, Tamil development activities are looked after by a section under the supervision of a deputy secretary of the Department of Education. The activities of various bodies to some extent fulfill the purpose of language planning. A cabinet minister is in charge of education, for which major expenditures are made by the government.

The Field of Education

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that ultimately education through a mother tongue alone could achieve the purpose of education. The task before the Tamils is to equip this ancient language for the successful replacement of English at all levels of education, administration, and the courts. In the field of education, the immediate task is to increase the rate of literacy, which is around 30 percent at present. Compulsory primary education is receiving serious consideration. Some progress has been made in standardization of scientific and technical terminologies, lexicon, and script and in creation of teaching materials. Various governmental organizations are carrying out these activities.

Tamil Nadu Textbook Society

The Tamil Nadu Textbook Society was established by the government of Tamil Nadu in 1970 to promote general and technical education through the publication of textbooks, teachers' guides, and teaching materials. The society had already published materials in the humanities and sciences and several basic glossaries. This society publishes almost all the titles for the primary, middle, and secondary stages of education. Even in the minority languages of the state, namely, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, and Urdu, it has published 140 titles. For schools, it has published 258 titles, and for colleges, so far it has published 828 titles. For the new higher secondary stage, the society has published 42 titles (Tamil Nadu Textbook Society Report 1978-79). How-

ever, it should be noted that the planning organizations of the Tamil Nadu government have not heeded suggestions regarding simplification of Tamil for use in textbooks (Annamalai 1977).

Standardization of Script in Tamil

Reform of the Tamil script was suggested as far back as 1934 by a conference of lovers of Tamil at Madras. The conference passed a resolution to that effect, and Periyar E.V. Ramasamy was bold enough to introduce the changes in his Viduthalai immediately. In 1948, an all-Tamil conference stressed this necessary reform. This time another editor, Srinivasan of Swatesamitran, introduced the changes in his daily, but switched over to the original script immediately. When Avinasilingam Chettiar was the education minister, a committee was appointed to look into the matter, but when a different minister took up the department no action was taken on the report. The Tamil scholars of the Dravidian movement never agreed with script reforms in Tamil. Though Maraimali Adigal supported Periyar E.V. Ramasamy in his anti-Hindi agitations of 1938 and 1948, he never agreed with Periyar over the script reform (Sivathambi 1979, 71-73). By accepting some changes, the number of Tamil letters could be reduced from 247 to roughly 30. Though Veeramaninivar (Baschi) initiated and vindicated the need for reform, the Tamil scholars never thought of any follow-up work (Mahadevan 1975). Some Tamil scholars have a peculiar taste for the past. They refuse to admit any reform of the script. Of late, the AIADMK was bold enough to introduce the limited changes known

as Viduthalai Tamil very silently by G.O. No. 1875, dated October 19, 1978. As Tamil needs further script reform, it is expected that the AIADMK government will take a positive decision on the recommendation of the M.V. Venugopala Pillai committee, which was appointed in 1979 to submit a detailed report on Tamil script reform.

Standardization of Scientific and Technical Terms

The first attempt to standardize scientific and technical terminology was made in 1932 when the Madras government published a list of scientific terms. In 1938, Madras Province Tamil Sangam published another glossary. It is stated that thirty-five volumes of technical terms have already been published. It is pointed out that there is a need for further standardization. Hence standardization of scientific and technical terms also needs a systematic planning effort from the point of view of the ever-growing needs in higher education.

Standardization of Lexical Usages

In Indian languages, the first printed book and lexicon were released in Tamil. The first lexicon came out in 1679, and others followed in 1706 and in 1719. Taking into consideration the various forms of spoken and written Tamil throughout Tamil Nadu and the diglossic nature of the language, the need for standardization of lexical usages is very much felt. Since Tamil has to tread into many new areas when it has to be the language of higher education, administra-

tion, and the courts, language use must be efficient, uniform, and easily adoptable.

The Field of Administration

The Congress government in 1946 began an experiment in using Tamil as the language of administration, and for that purpose Tiruchi was chosen as a unit. Tamil was made the official language of the state at the end of 1956. During 1961-63 the scheme of introducing Tamil was extended to all government offices.

As regards the offices of the heads of departments, the scheme to introduce Tamil for official purposes was implemented in four stages. The scheme reached the fourth and final stage in 1971.

In the departments of the secretariat, except law, finance, the Legislative Assembly, and the Legislative Council, the first stage of the Tamil scheme became effective May 1, 1966, and it was extended gradually to other stages. The law and finance departments were also brought under the first stage of the scheme from April 1, 1970.

The Tamil Nadu government directed that from January 14, 1970, Tamil shall be the language of all criminal courts for the purpose of recording evidence in all the proceedings with certain exceptions. It also has been decided to implement the official language scheme in writing judgments from November 14, 1976. It may be seen in practice that both the criminal and civil courts are evincing interest in conducting cases in Tamil due to popular demand.

So far, three editions of the general glossaries of administrative terms have been printed and supplied to all government offices in Tamil Nadu. A revised fourth edition is now in preparation.

Supplementary glossaries of special and technical terms relating to forty-four departments have also been brought out so as to enable the concerned personnel to get apt equivalents to be used in official matters.

In addition to the general and supplementary glossaries, various manuals, rules, and codes required for day-to-day use in several departments have also been translated and published in Tamil. The work of translation of departmental codes and manuals is continuing.

Shorthand Manual in Official Languages

A Tamil shorthand manual was printed and published for sale in September 1965. A second edition was printed and published in October 1977.

Incentive Schemes

To encourage extensive use of Tamil in official correspondence, government servants who write the best drafts and notes in Tamil are being awarded incentive cash prizes every year. Three prizes for each district--first prize, Rs 500, second prize, Rs 300, and third prize, Rs 200--are being distributed.

Government typists and stenotypists were granted concession to appear for the lower- and higher-grade examinations in Tamil typewriting as well as Tamil shorthand thrice without paying the examination fees.

Incentives in the form of special pay of Rs 30 is also given to government typists who have qualified in Tamil typewriting, and Rs 90 is given to each stenotypist who has passed higher-grade examinations in Tamil shorthand, irrespective of whether they intend to do Tamil shorthand work or not.

Progress and Review

The assistant directors attached to this directorate and posted in the districts periodically inspect all the government offices in their respective jurisdictions in order to review the work done in those offices and to help solve problems arising in the day-to-day routine.

The director makes a periodic inspection of the offices of heads of departments and collectors of districts to assess the work turned out in the implementation of the Official Language Act of 1956.

Various Bodies Involved in Tamil Development

The Tamil Development Directorate has taken various other measures to accelerate and improve the standard of the Tamil language in general. There is a bibliography section which prepared a descriptive bibliography of Tamil books published

from 1867 up to 1957, provides a source of information to Tamil research scholars, and serves as a guide to public libraries.

In order to encourage authors to bring out rare manuscripts, the government of Tamil Nadu has formulated a scheme of financial assistance. Financial assistance is also being rendered for the printing and publication of deserving Tamil manuscripts. The amount of such financial assistance is 50 percent of the total cost of publication or a maximum of Rs 5000, whichever is less.

To encourage writers to bring out standard books in Tamil in various subjects, the government of Tamil Nadu is awarding cash prizes to the authors and certificates to the publishers.

Facilities for People in Other States
to Pursue Studies in Tamil

To cater to the educational needs of the Tamil-speaking people who have settled in other states and to provide an opportunity to the people of other states to study the Tamil language, the government of Tamil Nadu is implementing a scheme of financial assistance to create chairs for the development of Tamil studies in the universities and educational institutions of other states.

Financial Assistance to Indigent Tamil Scholars

A scheme has been sanctioned for granting Rs 250 per month as financial assistance to fifty indigent Tamil scholars every year as a token of appreciation and in recognition of their past service to the development of Tamil language and literature.

Translating, Printing, and Publishing Outstanding Books

As one of the measures to develop Tamil, the government has decided to translate deserving books from other languages and to publish Tamil classics in other languages. For this purpose, an expert committee under the chairmanship of Thiru S. Maharajan was constituted and has taken up the work enthusiastically.

Paventhar Bharadhidasan Award

In recognition and appreciation of patriotism, love, and reverence for the language of Tamil and the literature of Paventhar Baradhi Dasan, the government decided to institute an award known as the Paventhar Baradhi Dhasan Award, which carries a cash prize of Rs 10,000 to the poets chosen for the award every year.

International Institute of Tamil Studies

The International Institute of Tamil Studies was established in October 1970. It promotes research in all aspects

of Tamil studies and allied fields with the active cooperation of international scholars interested in such studies. Since 1972 it has been publishing a half-yearly research journal, The Journal of Tamil Studies, which contains articles written by scholars from all over the world. A well-stocked reference library has been set up in the institute. The institute gives intensive coaching in Tamil to foreign students with the aid of a language laboratory and audio-visual equipment given by UNESCO. So far, the Institute has published a dozen books. It proposes to publish a social history of the early Tamils, a companion to Tamil literature, and a who's who of Tamil writers. It also sponsors popular lectures on literary theories with special reference to Tamil literature every month. It has sponsored popular seminars on folklore, the cultural heritage of the Tamils, and the literary heritage of the Tamils every month.

CONCLUSION

This brief consideration of the various forces supporting Tamil, English, and Hindi, the agitation stages, and the measures undertaken by the government to promote Tamil and to create consciousness among the masses is necessary for an evaluation of the role of the government in language planning.

First of all, in planning language in a multilingual society, the choice of the official language should not make the minorities dissatisfied. Disparities must be avoided in the

treatment of language to a great extent. It has been pointed out that in the Indian constitution the articles dealing with Hindi as the official language are framed in the most mandatory language, while with reference to regional languages it is framed in a permissive language. No provision in the constitution says strictly that the majority language of the state should be the official language (Kumaramangalam 1965, 29). The constitutional provisions provide room for the possibility that in the long run the regional language may be gradually eliminated by Hindi.

In the case of Tamil Nadu, in the language issue so far there have been no explicit complaints from the minority groups. Although the government has been promoting the linguistic interests of the tribes, it has not been established whether they are satisfied with these policies.

Although democratic states hope to avoid popular uprisings and agitations, in Tamil Nadu, the uprisings of 1938, 1965, and 1970 did not provide relief to the popular government since all these agitations only a pro-English interest has been established. Here we believe that some language planning which promotes better teaching methods and a high standard of English in the educational institutions while Tamil is used as the medium of instruction could be a possible solution. The parents and students have to be assured that with the help of the new scheme the required level of English can be provided.

When family planning was suggested in India, there was the utmost opposition from different directions. The Indian government, with the cooperation of the states, relentlessly

carried on a war of posters, news reels, pamphlets, slogans, and all sorts of appealing techniques to achieve the goal. The language issue is equally sensitive and requires mass-appeal techniques to create the necessary consciousness for change.

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LANGUAGE PLANNING IN MAHARASHTRA

Ashok R. Kelkar

WHAT IS LANGUAGE PLANNING?

Language is so familiar to us that it is difficult to see how we can indulge in language planning. Most of the time we use language simply as a means of conveying our thoughts and feelings and wishes or concealing these, as the case may be. We make up a new sentence or pick up a ready-made formula such as, What can I do for you? It is only when we become conscious of difficulty--say when the speaker doesn't know how to say in Marathi that the father could not communicate with the son, or when the listener cannot understand the radio news bulletin, or when a traveller does not know the local languages, or when a harmless comment leads to a violent misunderstanding--that we consciously think of problems presented by language. And, of course, people are solving such language problems all the time--the speaker makes up a new word or says that thing in a roundabout way, the reader of a letter asks for a clarification, the traveller carries a phrase book in his pocket, the shopkeeper puts up a sign "English is spoken here," and so on.

But some language problems crop up repeatedly, and some are too difficult to solve without expert advice, and some call for cooperation and coordination on a large scale. In other words, we need to carry out language planning with the help of language experts. Unfortunately, in India we don't seem to have realized the importance of the study of linguistics and allied language disciplines such as language psychology and language sociology. Still less have we realized the need to seek the advice of language experts.

A typical case is the effort made some years ago to standardize the keyboard of a Marathi typewriter. Expert typists were called, but expert linguists were never called. As a result, avoidable mistakes were made and then rectified at great cost. A worse fate awaited the standardized dot-and-dash code for sending Hindi telegrams. Again, the code was prepared without the benefit of language experts. As a result, it is cumbersome and leads to transmission errors. Very few people dare to use it. Even those wishing to send telegrams in Hindi simply romanize them crudely.

I have just mentioned a couple of examples of language-related technology--telegraphic codes and typewriter keyboards. One can extend the list to include Braille, shorthand, telecommunication codes, typesetter and computer keyboards, the establishment of conventions for alphabetization and the writing of Indian personal and geographical proper names in Devanagari and Roman, the preparation of standardized tests of proficiency in Indian and foreign languages and proficiency in using communication media for different languages. But it should be obvious that there is

more to language planning than standardizing language technologies. The central idea behind language planning is that language is as much a national resource as manpower or the railways or energy sources.

SCOPE FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING IN INDIA

India has many languages; there is no getting away from this fact. Western scholars have been accused by Indians of exaggerating in this matter. The large number of languages mentioned by the former is deflated--some are merely alternate language names, some are census-takers' mistakes (Zulu in Kulu valley, Himachal Pradesh), some are spoken by an insignificant number of speakers, and so on and on run the arguments. The assumption, of course, is that a large number is a bad thing. Even the smallest number, fifteen, if we fall back on the Language Schedule of the Constitution of India, is a fairly large number for a single would-be nation-state though it is not at all a large number for a subcontinent. Now the fact that India has many languages is neither a good thing nor a bad thing; it is simply the legacy of history, just as Europe's many one-language nations are legacies of history. What is good or bad is what we make of this fact. Indians tend to jump to one of two extremes. We may decide that this multiplicity of languages is a silly nuisance and that whatever pet link language one espouses, Hindi or English or even Sanskrit, should take over all the fields of communication that matter. Perhaps we grudgingly concede a place to the local lingo in the kitchen council or the neigh-

borhood chat. Alternatively we may decide that pride in one's own language is not complete without an obstinate refusal to adjust or compromise or an insane jealousy of other languages.

For the last half-century councils have been held to provide uniform calligraphy for Kannada and Telugu, the script being essentially the same. The outcome is always the same--Kannada speakers recommend that Telugu speakers should adopt the Kannada script and vice versa. It does not occur to anyone to propose that Kannada speakers can start using Telugu letter-shapes when they want to do the equivalent of italicizing and vice versa, so that both get used to each other's calligraphy--a major step toward unification. Other examples can be multiplied from other parts of India.

Now adopting either of these two extremes--suppression of regional languages or intolerant pride in regional languages--will be a misuse of national linguistic resources. Nobody in his right mind will suggest that airplanes (or bullock carts) ought to be the sole means of transport in a huge and highly populous country like India. We need airplanes and bullock carts and lots of things in between. What is more to the point is that we need better airplanes and better bullock carts, and by better I mean better-suited to meet certain specific needs. And if bullock carts can change and can be fitted with pneumatic rubber tires, languages certainly can, for change is the very law of language. Decisions about languages should be taken in a level-headed manner after a thorough analysis of costs and benefits. Once we take such a level-headed view, certain things claim our attention.

The multiplicity of languages imposes certain liabilities on a country struggling to find its economic feet. Apart from the obvious liability of the cost of essential translations or multiple versions (e.g., of Union government notifications, advertising campaigns of large corporations, results of important research available in regional languages), we have to accept limits on mobility in white-collar jobs, educational opportunities, technological innovations, and the like. The regional economic and educational imbalances between backward and advanced areas consequently become that much harder to eradicate.

At the same time, it will be a piece of narrow utilitarianism to overlook certain other facts just because these lend themselves to romantic sentimentalism. The slogan, "let a hundred flowers of regional and popular culture bloom to reveal the rich diversity within Indian unity," makes perfectly good sense when we find a Gujarati danseuse rendering a Manipuri dance or a Tamil vocalist singing a Telugu composition. After all, the political unit of India today is a democratic unity and not an imperial unity.

There are areas in which the two extremes seem to meet. The advocacy of linguistic states relied upon both utilitarian and romantic arguments.

In the India of ancient and medieval times, traders, pilgrims, travellers, scholars, and rulers faced and solved problems of interregional communication in their own diverse ways. No uniform solution was imposed, and the modalities were informal and leisurely. Now, while we cannot quite afford total informality and a slow pace, we can at least

emulate their good sense and flexibility. These qualities are certainly not incompatible with language planning.

In advocating any plan of large-scale learning of any second language, we must be mindful of the limited resources and manpower. Our teachers are too few, not too well trained, and given the unattractive salaries, not too talented. (Our "born teachers" are more likely to become labor leaders, advertisers, journalists, and so on.) Our students, again, are insincere and poorly motivated. Improved teaching methods are not magic wands for replacing hard work, as some Indians seem to think!

At the All-India level, Hindi or English or Urdu or Sanskrit may act as a contact language or link language between the regional languages in a gathering of traditional pandits, musicians, scholars and scientists with university educations, Muslim theologians, and so forth. But these very regional languages also act in turn as link languages and are imposed (if we must use the word) on subregional dialects, minority languages, and tribal dialects. If regional language partisans need assurances from the all-India contact languages, they also in turn should be ready to offer assurances to the dialects and minority languages.

The so-called language problems of India are not exclusively problems arising out of the multiplicity of languages. After all, even large monolingual underdeveloped or developing countries face certain language problems, and India faces those too in addition to the known problems arising out of linguistic diversity.

Knowing a language is no guarantee that you are articulate in that language. A mere working knowledge is insufficient for all but the most elementary purposes. Thus, a mere working knowledge won't help you to read an English book of economics or follow a Hindi speech by a parliamentarian. Let us not deceive ourselves on this account. Even articulateness in one's mother tongue is not guaranteed--witness the unhappy fate of many English-medium pupils even when residing in their home state.

Two basic principles emerge that should be the watchword of our language planners. One is that every language that Indians can lay hands on is a link language for some purpose. Thus standard Marathi is simply the link language between different regional and social dialects in Maharashtra--a peasant from south Ratnagiri and a peasant from north Chandrapur cannot discuss problems of rice cultivation if each insists on using his local dialect. It is also a link with Marathi literature and culture for a young Tamilian specializing in Marathi--and why not? If a young Tamilian can specialize in French, there is no reason why he or she shouldn't be given the opportunity of learning Marathi within the school or the college system if he or she wants to. Instead of making a fetish of learning additional languages, we should amplify, improve, and diversify language-learning facilities. Language planning does not spell language compulsion but language freedom. To learn a new language is to gain the membership of a new community, a new freedom.

An example of the other principle is provided by the Swedish language, which is full of expressions of status and

hierarchy handed down from a feudal past. In today's egalitarian Sweden, a young Swede finds them a nuisance--he or she cannot open his mouth without first determining his or her exact status relative to the other person. No doubt the Swedish language will one day rid itself of these. Given our historical situation, in India we cannot afford to let custom take its slow course to effect such a change. We have to accelerate some changes and keep in check other changes. We have to remold our languages nurtured in an agricultural, rural, stratified, and segregated society to enable them to cope with the needs of a modern society. These needs are:

- (a) the need for impersonal, standardized expression of science and other routinized contents so as to make them accessible to the person who needs them;
- (b) the need for the richly distinctive expression of novel ideas and highly personal feelings in literature and thought so that the individual is not submerged in a mass society;
- (c) the expression of shared ideas and feelings without falling into stale cliches, bombast, or pseudo-technicalities in journalism and public life.

The major languages of Europe modernized themselves over a period of four centuries. Indian languages cannot afford to wait that long. At the same time, the problem of remolding our languages cannot be wholly solved in the committee room or even the classroom. But committees can give direction and indicate possibilities; and teachers can alert their students to the problem and to the new tools being forged by talented writers and speakers. Let not the writer feel frustrated because his reader is too lazy to meet him half way. A school

cannot make you a Shakespeare or a Bertrand Russell, but it can make you able to recognize a Shakespeare or a Russell when he or she speaks to you--and, what is even more important, to recognize an impostor when he or she uses verbal bombast in order to conceal the absence of any real thought or feeling.

Language planning is therefore not something to be left to a government agency. It should become the concern of academic experts and educators, authors and public speakers, journalists and mass media people---indeed the concern of every citizen.

A CASE STUDY: MARATHI AS A STATE LANGUAGE

At the time of the Yādavas (12th-13th centuries), the state language of Maharashtra was Marathi. In the Bahāmanī Kingdom and two of its successors, the Adilshāhī of Bijapur and the Nizāmshāhī of Ahmednagar (all together, 14th-17th centuries), Persian became the state language, though the two Indo-Aryan languages Marathi and Daikhani-Urdu also played a secondary role with a heavy load of borrowings of Persian administrative and judicial terms. The same picture holds good for the Asafjāhī rule (Nizam's dominion), which took shape out of the disintegrating Mughal empire (18th century) and covered a sizable portion of Maharashtra. I have not made any separate mention of Arabic borrowings, since these came largely through Persian. Doublets of Arabic borrowings taken directly and taken through Persian are rare--a case in point will

be kāgad in Marathi and kāghaz in Urdu as the words for paper.) Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha dominion, not only introduced Marathi as the state language but asked a scholar, Raghunath Pandit, to prepare the Rājavyavahārakosa (circa 1676), which is chiefly a Persian-Sanskrit lexicon of administrative terms arranged topically in verse form. This led to a considerable lowering in the text frequency of Persian loans in Marathi. V.K. Rajavade (1903) cites three sample documents dated 1628 and 1728 with percentage of Persian loans being 86, 38, and 6 respectively. The Marathi of those days distinguished between two situation modes--Sanskrit loans and Sanskritized diction for serious work and plain language drawing upon tadbhava and desī words for the ordinary people (prākṛtajana). This distinction applies to the two kinds of literature. Statecraft was, of course, serious business and called for the former style. (The underlying framework of thought is not entirely obsolete. Only, statecraft in a democratic context is now being recategorized as ordinary people's business.) The British rulers assigned administration at the district and lower levels to the regional language (in our case, Marathi) and that at the provincial and all-India levels to the English language. Administrative Marathi retained the Persian borrowings (surviving largely in judicial matters) and also absorbed many new English borrowings. The princely states in Maharashtra (with the exception, of course, of the Nizam and possibly of Janjira) used this kind of Marathi with many Persian and English administrative words.

During the freedom movement (up to the coming of independence in 1947) the ideas of linguistic reorganization of provinces and the use of Indian languages in government were mooted. (Raghunath Pandit's lexicon was printed in 1860, 1880 with this in view by the editors. The poet Madhav Julian in his song in praise of the Marathi language expresses the lament and the hope in his line--"even though Marathi is not the state language today.") When the time came, after independence, to implement these two ideas, other ideas and other attitudes (as of laziness, clinging to vested interests) came in the way. The question of accepting Marathi as the state language came to a head in 1960 when the Maharashtra state in its present form came into being.

The question came to a head, but there was no one straightforward answer. Indeed the question got redefined in some such terms as: Should Marathi truly become the language of the state Maharashtra and if it should, what form should it take? Should it lean towards Sanskrit and Sanskritized Hindi, or should it not lose its characteristic native flavor?

These questions yield three schools of thought--Sanskrit-inclined, Marathi-inclined, and English-inclined. It is surprising to note that the English-inclined were quite unopposed to accepting Marathi as the state language (rājabhāṣā) on the formal plane. Perhaps this need not surprise us, given the Indian penchant for formal rituals. Indeed, in the subsequent controversy the followers of this last school are content to remain on the sidelines and merely comment on the goings-on. All this has naturally delayed the solving of the

problem but also has served to highlight neglected aspects and the lack of any simple-minded uncomplicated answer. After all, isn't such a turn of events natural and welcome in the democratic process?

Against the backdrop of the rājabhāṣā controversy, the events from 1960 on can be quickly reviewed. The year 1961 saw the establishment of the Directorate of Language and the associated Language Advisory Committee, which between them set about framing Marathi administrative terms. As a first installment, the Padanām kos (a dictionary of designations) was put out in 1962 and was promptly attacked by the late P.K. Atre, a journalist and literary artist. Atre wanted Marathi to remain a state language and not become over Sanskritized. The Marathi Rājabhāṣā bill was proposed and passed in 1965. A preliminary edition of the Sāsakīya vyavahāra kos (a dictionary of the business of government) was circulated confidentially in 1968 to elicit opinion. Making it confidential was probably a misguided move and prevented the elicitation of more useful comments on a large scale. The publication in 1973 of the final edition by no means allayed the controversy. Actually the controversy merged to some extent with that about the technical terminology in Marathi for natural and human sciences and mathematics in the context of the adoption of Marathi as a medium of instruction. The latter controversy also lent itself to the emergence of three schools on analogous lines. A Government of India directive designated 1979 as the Rājabhāṣā Year. In Maharashtra this occasioned a fair number of talks, articles, seminars, and the like, both under government and

nongovernment auspices, on administrative terminology and the use of Marathi and thus served to bring up a number of interesting points.

Before we set forth the points advanced by the three schools of thought, we may do well to get certain things out of the way. To begin with, this three-way allocation of arguments is made only for convenience of thinking and should not be given exaggerated value. Secondly, the labels Sanskrit-, Marathi-, and English-inclined are not quite exact, as will be seen in the discussion to follow. An even more inexact set of terms is sometimes used in the heat of controversy--the Brahmans for Sanskrit, the Marathas for Marathi, and the bureaucrats for English. (The Marathas form the dominant peasant caste of Maharashtra.) We shall presently propose a better set of terms.

The Sanskrit-inclined and the Marathi-inclined are, of course, one in one respect--both of them urge an early adoption of Marathi as a state language not merely as a formality but as a reality and would want a deliberate speeding up of the process. In other words, both of them advocate language planning. But they differ in the form of language planning. The first school would control language as and when required. Sooner or later, it argues, the people are bound to come round; after all, it will be to their own good. The dependence on Sanskrit and the imitation of Hindi in this respect is a matter of detail. This is essentially the party for language control. The second school would rather go by the natural process of linguistic adaptation in language planning. This is better and in any case more democratic, so

they think. They are for limited language planning. The preference for tadbhava and deśī words is a means to this end. Compared with the first two schools, the third is more for the status quo. They don't really believe in language planning and artificial speeding up. After all, they ask, what is wrong with the existing allocation between Marathi up to the district level and English for the state level?

In this perspective, we may substitute a new set of labels for the three schools of thought--the school of well-controlled planning, the school of limited planning, and the conservative school. (Students of economics will inevitably be reminded here of the arguments for centrally controlled planning, mixed economy, and laissez-faire economy.) Now there are going to be some people at least who are going to side with one of these not on the merits of the arguments but on their immediate personal and class gain.

The school advocating well-controlled planning pleads the following points in its favor:

(1) There is little time now left for the natural process to work itself out. National languages in the West had four to five centuries in which to adapt themselves to the role of the language of government and administration; we hardly have had four to five decades. For someone totally innocent of English the choice of a new word doesn't make any difference--he will assimilate whatever word is presented to him.

(2) One must not make a fetish of the simplicity of language. Is the ordinary man so dull-witted that he will fight shy of a few unfamiliar words? Can't we trust him to show some adaptability?

(3) And simplicity is not merely a matter of avoiding heavy consonant sequences. Shouldn't we be equally mindful of matching different senses by different words and resemblant senses by resemblant word-forms? One must discriminate between law, bylaw, rule, ordinance, bill, and the like; and one must be able to spawn a whole family of words--words for law, lawful, unlawful, and the like. It is always easy to ridicule a word just because it is new or going to be used in a novel sense.

(4) The linguistic integration of India is desirable, and it is better to base it on an indigenous language like Sanskrit rather than on imported languages like English or Persian.

(5) The language of the state should sound weighty and dignified. To call a clerk or a sweeper or a piggery-officer by Sanskritic names like lipik or svacchak or sūkaralaya-adhikārī is so much more considerate and respectful than to use more homely names like kārkūn (Persian) or jhaḍuvalā or ḍukkarvaḍa-adhikārī.

A little thought should be enough to make one realize that points 1, 2, and 3 are arguable but that points 4 and 5 will not bear examination.

The school advocating limited planning pleads the following points:

(1) It is certainly desirable to undertake language planning and by so doing to improve the capacity of Marathi as a state language. But surely all this effort will come to nought if the ordinary citizen who is supposed to be served

by it is unable to follow and grasp the administrative terminology so created?

(2) Only a genuine sympathy for the ordinary citizen's problems will bring home to one the reality of a language bar. To say that eventually one can get used to anything is to imply that the ordinary citizen can put up with anything under pressure.

(3) Why can't we trust the Marathi language--that is, its speakers--to be enterprising and innovative? How long can Marathi nourish itself with translation? Why does one have to translate ten million blindly as dahā dasalakṣa (ten ten-lacs)? If only one thinks in Marathi, one comes out with ek koṭī (one crore) quite naturally.

(4) Marathi has put up all these years with the dominance of Sanskrit, Persian, and English in turn. Let it not now suffer from Hindi imperialism. Let Marathi retain its individual character.

Of these points, 1, 2, and 3 are worthy of consideration. Point 4 merely appeals to one's emotions. One has only to make a counter-appeal to see its hollowness. Is the Marathi-ness of Marathi so flimsy that a few borrowings from other languages will be enough to destroy it?

The conservative school arguing for the status quo pleads the following points:

(1) Let us plant our feet on the ground. Language is after all only a means to an end: technical language even more so. A technical terminology that does not convey anything to the person addressed is a mere bauble that will gladden only the fool.

(2) Marathi can't prosper by hating other languages. After all, English gained its vaunted richness largely through borrowing from other languages unhampered by senseless taboos. Nothing is to be gained by hating English or Persian.

(3) There are many more important things that the ordinary Indian citizen has to learn and assimilate. A new terminology that is more a burden than a convenience is worse than useless.

(4) Precision and accuracy is of the utmost importance in administration. English has won these qualities after years. How can we possibly do without its support?

While points 1 and 2 are weighty, points 3 and 4 are only based on half-truths.

Each of these schools has its lunatic fringe that is best ignored. Even so, each school has some substantial points to offer that reveal to us the many facets of the question of the state language. It must be borne in mind, however, that the facets revealed in the course of this controversy do not exhaust all the facets. We shall now present some of these neglected facets.

The first gap in our thinking is the absence of the realization that the question of administrative terminology is but a small portion and not the whole of the question of the state language. In our preoccupation with terminology, we must not lose sight of three other aspects of a state language. First, there is the nontechnical, ordinary vocabulary in government-related communication. The presence of techni-

cal terms inevitably makes the language a little heavy-going. By way of compensation, the nontechnical words should be kept especially plain and simple. It is so much better to use the plain disūn yetāt (become apparent) than the learned dr̥ṣṭōtpattīś yetāt (come into the scope of our vision); and, again to avoid the anglicism durdaivī vicār (unfortunate idea) and resort to the more robust karantā vicār or vedgaḷ vicār (wretched idea, crazy idea), depending on the context. The second aspect is syntax, the hang of the sentence. It is perfectly possible to write an obscure sentence with plain words. The version "Only such an officer can cancel an order that has originally issued it" is unusual in Marathi and sounds clumsy, while the version "What officer has originally issued an order that alone can cancel it" it is the more natural way saying it in Marathi without any loss of meaning. Last but not least, the style of administrative communication should be precise and crisp. Unfortunately it invariably tends to be verbose and slow in coming to the point. Sir Ernest Gowers conducted a one-man campaign against this tendency (documented in the Penguin The Complete Plain Words, which will be instructive to Indians too). Indian governmental communication, whether in English or in Indian languages, is not only true to type, but often needlessly arrogant and discourteous to boot. It was an officer of rare imaginativeness who thought of the sign: "This is a jhopadpattī (shanty-town) improved under the Slum Clearance Scheme." (The Marathi word for slum means filthy settlement.) Of course, an administrator's style is the expression of the administrator's personality. But at the same time, it is often no more than a result of ignorance and heedlessness

about the good and bad effects of language. In the course of the controversy about Marathi as a state language, the language director, Y.S. Kanitkar, has often been complimented on his Marathi. While this is certainly to his credit, it also reflects unfavorably on the general run of Marathi-knowing government officers. Their distaste for writing in Marathi is often rooted in their inarticulateness in Marathi (and often in English too).

The second gap concerns the lack of realization that the criteria for good administrative Marathi cannot be wholly uniform for the different functions it is designed to perform in different contexts. Contextual functions should govern the criteria. Elsewhere the insistence on uniformity cannot be pressed too far.

Finally, we may focus on the administrative terms as such in Marathi. What are the considerations that need to govern their selection and coinage? In the first place, any linguistic taboos on the sources of terms are clearly to be set aside. A comparable case in point will be the terminology of cricket in Marathi, which just "grewed" without the midwifery of any committee and was made popular thanks to the efforts of the journalist A.B. Kolhatkar and others. It is shamelessly eclectic and cheerfully accepts the English loans leg and off, the Persian binbad (not-out), the homegrown pāyçit (leg-before-wicket), the Sanskrit yaçtirakṣak (wicket-keeper), and even the hybrid golandāj (bowler), combining Sanskrit and Persian. Nobody is known to have complained about the last two words. Why couldn't we show the same good sense in other fields? Even when we have two synonymous

words from different sources, we can often find use for both--bhūmiti and jamīnmojnī both mean "land-measuring," but the first is a branch of mathematics (geometry), and the second belongs under the revenue department. Having settled the denotations of samsad, loksabha, rajyasabha, vidhanapariṣad, and vidhansabha, we shall find handy the left-over kaydemaṇḍal when speaking of all these bodies together (in the sense of any legislative body). The criterion of simplicity and plainness is easier to defend than to apply. Drawing a straight line, as the Hindi saying goes, is quite a difficult job. Simplicity is no mere counting of conjunct letters or syllables. The word bhāṣā-saṅcālanālava (language directorate) should pass muster but is actually more difficult to pronounce than bhāṣā-saṅcālan-karyālaya (language director office). Nor again is it a matter of familiarity. What is more to the point is the learnability of the word. The word prasadhan-kakṣa is not too bad for the room where ladies powder their noses, but to use it for the urinal is a piece of illiteracy, a senseless translation of the English toilet. Very often it is pleaded that a certain English term is already quite familiar even to the Marathi speaker who doesn't know any English. An example cited is the word seed farm. Now it is one thing to say the peasant is acquainted with the term, but it is quite another to claim that he "understands" the term. He may know that a certain place is called a seed farm, but he has no more an idea why it is so called than a schoolboy who has blundered into the true answer to a sum has any notion of how one arrives at it. To say that the peasant knows the term and that the boy can do the sum are equally misleading. To

render the term culvert as adhahpranāl is certainly otiose; but the attractive-sounding puliya (bridgelet) in Hindi is also inappropriate in that it achieves simplicity by sacrificing precision. The English term does not refer to the passage for vehicles but to the passage for the water. An appropriate term could be bhuyārīgātār (tunnel-drain). One should admit that for rendering midwife, the suggested prasāvika sounds more obscure than the homely suñ; but one should also admit that its relationship with prasuti (childbearing, delivery) and sūtika (the woman being delivered) is much more transparent and learnable. The epithets plain and simple are highly question-begging ones.

One final word--about the target of a lot of criticism, the Sāsakiya vyavahār kos with its 30,000 entries. I did a sample check of twenty pages, that is, about 1,000 entries. Out of these, about 1 percent of the entries paired an obscure and a simple Marathi term:

government	<u>sāsan</u> , <u>sarkār</u> (simple term second)
overhead expenses	<u>varkaḍ kharca</u> , <u>uparivyaya</u> (simple term first).

Another 3 percent of the entries offer words that could perhaps be improved upon. They typify the terms that draw a lot of journalistic and literary fire.

overseer	<u>avekṣak</u>
part-time	<u>amsakālik</u>
passed with grace	<u>anugrahottirṇa</u>

So about three hundred plus nine hundred terms have brought a bad name to this dictionary. And one cannot expect otherwise. In eating rice, the pebbles stick in one's mind; one doesn't keep a count of the rice grains that went in past them. Moreover, the offending minority of words may include some that are needed quite frequently and therefore prove to be even more offending. One cannot underestimate their capacity for language pollution. I urge that the government consider this a question of prestige in a constructive sense and take speedy steps to appoint a scrutiny committee and bring out a revised and improved edition of this dictionary. P.K. Atre, who was the first to cast a stone, is reported by Yashwantrao Chavhan (in Lokarajya, October 1, 1979, p. 70) to have consoled him: let you of the government do your job and let us do our job of criticizing your efforts, and some day this will lead us to less obscure terms. (Chavhan was the chief minister of Maharashtra when Atre said this: he had expressed chagrin at Atre's attack.)

Perhaps a glance of some of the other states of India may not be out of place here by way of rounding off this case study. After all, the problem of administrative terminology, indeed of all scientific and technological terminology, is a problem that is also being faced by Indians other than Marathi speakers and indeed by people of many other underdeveloped and developing countries.

Panjabi is the chief language of Punjab. The Indian languages Kashmiri, Urdu, Sindhi, and to some extent Panjabi are oriented towards Persian rather than Sanskrit. The choice before their speakers is between plain language and learned,

Persianized language. (Thus Urdu speakers from India find Pakistan Urdu excessively laden with words of Perso-Arabic origin.) There are not many Muslims now among Panjabi speakers in India. The Sikhs favor Panjabi speakers in India. The Hindus under the influence of the Arya Samaj tend to favor Hindi and Sanskrit orientation. Gradually Panjabi is coming into its own free from either Urdu dominance or Hindi dominance. At the same time, the orientation to Sanskrit is gaining ground when it comes to technical terms-- thus economy is now rendered as sanjam rather than as muāsīmuāmālā.

Hindi has a strong tendency to get more Sanskritized. Thus while many Marathi speakers have protested against using nirvācan at the expense of nivādnuk for an election, one doesn't see too many defenders for the Hindi cunāv. Hindi speakers have been pretty docile about the growing obscurity of technical and administrative Hindi. There is an added twist that makes things more complicated for Hindi. While the sort of Hindi that prefers cunāv will be easier for ordinary Hindi speakers, the one that prefers nirvācan may be less difficult for Dravidian-speaking learners of Hindi. What then is the person using Hindi to do?

Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu speakers have no qualms against eking out vocabulary gaps with words lifted from Sanskrit. Tamil speakers have had serious qualms on this matter in the last few decades in the wake of the Tamil resurgence. Such Tamil speakers turn to classical Tamil-- sometimes excessively so, to the puzzlement and distress of the man in the street who cannot follow this ultra-pure Tamil.

Sanskrit loans do not always make for uniformity among Indian languages. The so-called false friends abound. While ceṣṭā means "efforts" in Bangla and Hindi, it means "teasing jokingly" in Marathi and Telugu. While the English term history is rendered as itihās in Marathi and Hindi, it is rendered as caritramu in Telugu. These loans are often passed on, however, from one Indian language to another. Thus V.K. Rajwade coined samskr̥ti in Marathi for "culture," Rabindranath Tagore picked it up for Bangla, and eventually it spread to other Indian languages.

Bengal presents a case worth mentioning. The few decades that were available to Indians to develop technical terms in a natural way were fully utilized by Bangla speakers. Bangla has been producing copious literature on scientific and other subjects for several years. (By way of contrast, the Marathi publishing business rarely ventures beyond school textbooks and belles lettres. The Marathi reader is also very much to blame for this poverty.)

Now the Bangla speaker's love of his own language is sometimes carried to an excess, but it does not seem to have stood in the way of his use of the English language. The Bengalis can claim a prominent share both in respect of quality and quantity in the English books published in India. Love of one's language need not be equated with a hatred of English. The Marathi speaker's attitude towards English presents a curious spectacle. He seems to have developed a strange sense of insecurity in respect of English right from the days of Tilak. There are not many authors who have written plentifully in both Marathi and English. On the other

hand, there have been many worthy scholars who are poorly known outside Maharashtra because their writings are available exclusively in Marathi (with no English translations made). The Marathi speaker often exhibits a naive penchant for English or a blind hatred of it--in either case, he is expressing a deeper inferiority complex. It is high time that he ruthlessly reexamined his attitude to English.

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Part III
PLANNING THE LANGUAGE CORPUS

PLANNING OF THE LANGUAGE CORPUS

E. Annamalai

The Language Planning Institute was planned to focus on issues relating to a policy of preservation and perpetuation of multilingualism in a country and to share the ethos and experiences of the planners from multilingual countries with those from dominant multilingual countries. The differences in ideologies and in priorities became explicit in the interactions. The concerns of the developing countries, which are invariably multilingual countries, are more societal problems than individual problems of language. They are more concerned with the development of native languages to take the place of colonial languages to bring a new social order. This makes language codification their primary task in order to make the native languages prepared for the new tasks. The developing countries also have more choices available to them in every aspect of planning. The choices, however, are not entirely open, but are narrowed down by social and political forces rather than by efficiency considerations. This makes the interaction between the people and planners more enduring and evolving as the planning progresses.

The papers in this section which deal with codification reflect these concerns. Creating and changing a writing sys-

tem is still a demanding preoccupation for language development in developing countries, and the conflicting considerations involved in it and an indication of the scope of the problems are presented in the report of the working group led by Annamalai and Dahal. The need for taking into account the perceptions and preferences of language users by planners and the possibility of discord between the planners and users are emphasized by Udaya Narayana Singh in his paper based on a survey conducted in India.

Creation of terms and vocabulary is the next crucial activity after script making. The success of this activity should be measured not by the number of terms and words created but by the extent of their use and by the extent to which they bring about the actual use of languages in expanded domains, as pointed out by Jernudd and Ram Adhar Singh with their colleagues in their group report. Vocabulary creation and propagation are not done only by the planning experts at the governmental level but also, perhaps more successfully, by dictionary makers of all kinds, as shown by Ram Adhar Singh.

New words create new registers, and new discourse forms demand new words and new meanings for old words. Drafting of legal documents throws challenges of a formal and semantic nature, as illustrated by Sharma with his experience from drafting laws in Hindi. The challenges would be considered to have been successfully met not when a legal language is created, not even when it is accepted by the practitioners of law, but when it makes the law directly accessible and comprehensible to the man who is governed by it. The purpose of

promoting local languages in developing countries is to bridge the communication gap between the ruler and the ruled.

These papers indicate that language planning is not a simple vertical process but is spiral and that it is not a mere managerial exercise but is an exercise of social involvement.

CREATING AND CHANGING A WRITING SYSTEM:
SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, PEDAGOGICAL,
AND LINGUISTIC CRITERIA FOR A CHOICE

E. Annamalai

B.M. Dahal

with G.C. Ahuja, D.N. Koul,

P. Madhubala Devi, and J.C. Sharma

NATURE OF THE WRITING SYSTEM

The writing system of a language represents speech through visual symbols. The written language, however, is not the exact replication of the spoken language with a difference only in the medium; it has its own structural and functional characteristics. Some of these characteristics will be noted in the following sections, which discuss the criteria for choosing between alternatives when the language planner is faced with the problem of creating or changing (including standardizing) a writing system.¹

A writing system may be defined as having two parts, viz., orthography and spelling. The former includes the aspects of script, alphabet inventory, alphabet arrangement, and writing conventions. Script is independent of any specific language; different languages may use the same script, and the same

language may use different scripts at different points in time or space. There are basically three script systems: alphabetic, which takes segments as the unit for the visual symbol; syllabic, which takes syllables as the unit; and logographic, which takes the morphemes as the unit. No natural language is pure in its script system in that it is based entirely on any one system. Though it is true in principle that any language can use any script, the inherent structural properties of a language may suggest the preference of one script system over another. For example, the alphabetic system would be more suitable than the syllabic system for a language with many and long consonant clusters. The alphabetic system, particularly when the alphabet of a language is based on its phonemic system, will expose the dialect differences more than the logographic system, and the language planner's choice may be influenced by his approach to the treatment of dialects.

The alphabet, a set of distinct visual symbols, is specific to languages. The script system has some relation to the alphabet in that the alphabet drawn from the alphabetic script has a relatively smaller inventory than the one drawn from the syllabic script, which in turn is smaller than that from the logographic script. The inventory of the alphabet reflects the phonemes, syllables, or morphemes, depending on the script system, as mentioned earlier. The alphabet of the alphabetic system may, however, be based on the underlying phonemes or morphophonemes rather than on the surface phonemes. Each will have a pedagogical advantage depending on whether the phoneme or morphophoneme has psychological reali-

ty. The alphabet based on morphophonemes has the advantages of maintaining the visual identity of morpheme alternants, which is particularly helpful to the learner in the area of derivationally related words, and of providing an overall inventory for the different dialects. Though it is ideal on linguistic and pedagogical grounds to have the same number of letters as phonemes or morphophonemes, the alphabetic inventory of a language often has more or fewer of these linguistic units.

The arrangement of the alphabet for presenting the inventory of the language or for arranging the words in a dictionary may be arbitrary or based on some linguistic principle like point or manner of articulation. Though particular scripts, such as Roman and Devanagari, usually have a fixed arrangement of the alphabet, it is not necessary for a language that uses that script to follow that arrangement, and the arrangement may be determined by regional or national considerations.

Writing conventions include use of different shapes of symbols in different modes of writing such as handwriting and printing; use of special shapes of symbols, such as capital letters to begin certain classes of words or sentences; the breaking of words across lines; the combination of morphemes into simple words, compound words, and phrases; use of punctuation marks; and the like. These conventions are specific to languages. Though the use of different shapes generally goes with the choice of a particular script, it is not necessary for all the languages using that script to follow this convention. On the other hand, though the convention of

punctuation marks is language-specific, with one language using no mark at all and another using many, it is possible to apply a system to all languages.

The spelling system, in contrast to the orthographic system, which is independent of the words in the language with the exception of the writing convention, is dependent on words. It is an arrangement of the visual symbols to represent the words of a language. The distinction between spelling and orthography becomes thin in the case of languages using the logographic script since the morphemes are the units for symbolization. The arrangement in these cases can be stated only in terms of the strokes in the logographs.

The writing system, which consists of the orthographic system and the spelling system, as mentioned above, has not only the value of communicating through the visual medium, which has the advantage of transcending time and space, but also has a social value derived from this transcendence, visual transparency, and relative permanence. The speakers perceive it as relating them to other communities positively or negatively and to their own community in the past. It serves as a symbol for identity and as an institution for allegiance, through the body of literature available in it. The language planner, therefore, must take into account the communicative aspect in its informational and educational dimensions as well as the social aspect in its cultural and economic dimensions.

CREATING OR CHANGING A WRITING SYSTEM

The language planner faces the issue of creating a writing system when he has to devise one for an unwritten language or when the existing writing system of a language is to be replaced for some reason. He has two choices, viz., to invent a new system or adapt an existing system. In each choice, there are many alternatives to choose from based on the criteria of efficiency, economy, acceptance, and relation to other systems.

When the issue of efficiency of a writing system is discussed in a sociocultural vacuum, the following questions arise: (1) what type of writing system is easy and fast in writing, (2) What type of writing system is easy and fast in reading, (3) Whether it should have one shape for printing and writing or different shapes, and (4) whether there should be one symbol for one distinct sound, syllable or morpheme.

The question of speed in writing is related to the direction of writing, whether it is horizontal or vertical or both. Horizontally, the writing may be from left to right or from right to left. Which way is easy and fast in terms of writing and reading is the question. This is difficult to answer without research. Different systems are in use. Perso-Arabic is written from right to left. Devanagari and Roman are written from left to right. Chinese is written from top to bottom.

One should look at the question of efficiency not only from the human point of view but also from the point of view of modern technology such as typewriting, printing processes,

computerization, and the like. If an orthography has a large number of diacritical marks, it slows the speed of typing and composing. When writing, there is a possibility of missing some diacritics, leading to ambiguity. In Perso-Arabic, for example, the convention is to indicate vowels with diacritics above or below the consonant symbol, and these are sometimes missed by people, creating problems in reading. From the learning and the technological points of view, it is more efficient and economical to have fewer allographs. In the Perso-Arabic and the Devanagari scripts, letters change their shapes depending on whether they occur in isolation or in combination with another letter, and this poses problems for the learners and for machines. It is uneconomical to have a calligrapher write the language first by hand and then make blocks for printing.

When the script is not efficient from the learning as well as technological points of view, the question may be asked whether it should be modified drastically or replaced by another. This has happened in history, as in the case of Turkish, and some have proposed that the Tamil syllabic script be modified into an alphabetic one. This should be done only after evaluating the change carefully and keeping the user's preference in the picture, as efficiency arguments can be pseudo ones. Usually a total replacement is not possible because, as is the language, the script is also a marker of identity for a community.

Changing the script also creates problems for transnational communication and access to past literature. For example, changing Perso-Arabic script for Urdu or Tamil script in

India will hinder communication among nations--Pakistan and Sri Lanka, respectively--and make it difficult for all the literature to be made available in the changed script. Change of script motivated by efficiency considerations has sociocultural and political implications.

The efficiency criterion is used not only for change of script or reform of script, but also for choice between two or more currently used systems for the same language. An example is the choice between two current writing systems in Perso-Arabic script, viz., nasakh and nastalikh for Urdu. The adoption of nasakh for printing is more efficient than nastalikh. Nastalikh is written by scribes, and it has a number of variations.

A simple law of economics is that the greater the production, the lower the cost. So the argument is that if one script is used for all languages, it is economical and technologically efficient with no need for investment in different machines and in devices for script conversion; it is pedagogically advantageous, requiring less investment in time for learning new scripts. But the question of economy also cannot be discussed in a sociocultural vacuum. There are many instances of one script being used for more than one language within a nation and across nations. The Roman script is used for many European languages, such as English, French, Spanish, and German. Sanskrit, Marathi, and Hindi in India are written in Devanagari. Conversely, two scripts for the same language are also found within a nation or across nations. For example, in India Punjabi is written in the Devanagari and Perso-Arabic scripts and Konkani in Roman,

Devanagari, Kannada, and Malayalam scripts. Sanskrit was written in the local scripts in different regions in India.

One script for all or more languages means change of existing scripts in the case of written languages, and this has sociocultural implications that may not be acceptable to the people. Moreover, the positive aspect of economy makes easier the control and manipulation of information by the authorities, and this is not necessarily good for a democratic system.

The use of a common script may, however, be restricted to certain purposes, such as nameboards of places, milestones, and signboards of distance and direction. The titles of books and authors may also be given secondarily in the common script. This will help specific groups of people such as travellers and librarians. This will also help the people who know a language but not its script.

CHOICE OF SCRIPT FOR UNWRITTEN LANGUAGES

There are many unwritten languages in the world. It is necessary for them to have a script if literacy is to be imparted to their speakers and if these languages are to be developed. The creation of a new script has many practical problems. A new infrastructure has to be developed for the production of materials, and new printing, typing, and other machines will have to be produced. The new script will not be useful for learning a second language.

When a script is chosen from among the existing ones, the question arises as to which one. Should it be the script of the dominant language of the province or region where the speakers' socioeconomic interests lie, or should it be the script of a national or international language? The choice will have to take into account the speakers' attitude towards any particular script. The criteria of economy and efficiency alone will not do. The script of the dominant language of the province or the region may be preferable, as it will help the students when they transfer in school to the regional language. It will be economical, as the materials can be printed or typed with the existing facilities in the region. But the speakers may want to have their identity through a script that is different from that of the dominant community. The transfer value in learning in school maybe the crucial determining factor when more than one language with different scripts are learned in the school. For example, the Bodo students in Assam have to learn in school, besides Bodo, Assamese, Hindi, and English. The Bodo speakers could choose either the Assamese, Devanagari, or Roman script purely from the point of view of transfer value, though Assamese will have an edge, as it will be introduced in school before the other two. They chose Devanagari because of the priority given to preserving distinct identity from the immediate neighbors.

RESTRICTED USE OF ALTERNATIVE WRITING SYSTEM

It is not necessary that a script be adopted for all purposes. It is possible to earmark the purposes for which an alternative writing system is used. It may be used during the period of transition from one writing system to another or even permanently. In China, besides the traditional system, the Roman script is also used. In reading for pleasure, it may encourage people to read literature in other languages if the script is the same, particularly when the languages are closely related and intelligible like Hindi and Urdu, Punjabi and Dogri, and Tamil and Malayalam. The old literature in a language that has changed its script may continued to be reprinted and read in the original script. This is particularly true of religious literature. In second-language instruction, the use of the first-language script may help the learner. This will be appropriate where the learner's objective is to speak a language and not to read or write it.

Another area for the alternative writing system is signboards, place names, labels, vouchers, travelling documents, and the like to facilitate wider readability. For example, the titles of Hindi movies in advertisements in non-Hindi areas are in the Roman script; the Hindi signboards, warnings, etc. in the Indian army are in the Roman script.

TRANSLITERATION

Development of a transliteration system for writing another language in the script of one's native language is also a part of script planning. It is important to provide uniformity in transliteration in widely used scripts. The Central Directorate of Hindi of the Government of India has prepared a chart in Devanagari to standardize the use of this script for writing other major Indian languages. This will be useful in preparing catalogues in the libraries for transliterating the titles of the books, authors, reference manuals, and so forth in different languages and for writing the proper names in newspapers and magazines.

A standard transliteration system is necessary even for writing the words of one language into another to have the flavor of that language or because of translation difficulty, as is often done by writers and translators of creative literature. For example, words such as bhuta 'demon', dosa 'a pancake', and idli 'a rice cake' are used in fiction written in English for Indian readers. There is variation and inconsistency in the current practice. 'h' with alveolar stops such as 'th' and 'dh' is used to mark aspiration in north India and dental in south India. In the second word above, 'd' denotes dental and in the third word, retroflex. When standardizing, besides the linguistic considerations, the conventions already in use must be taken into account.

TECHNICAL SYMBOLS

There is a problem of standardization of technical symbols and formulas used in science and technology. The "internationalists" prefer the use of international symbols and formulas based on use in English for reasons of economy and transferability. The "nativists" favor their replacement by the native ones. In the latter case, they are either transliterated into the orthographic system of the concerned language or modified according to the pronunciation of that language. In some cases, they are translated using the technical vocabulary of the language concerned. The planner has to take care of the conflicting views and practices.

ABBREVIATION

Written languages have native and borrowed abbreviated forms representing proper names, organizations, and the like. Some languages have two conventions of abbreviation. Native words are abbreviated by taking the initial open syllable, and borrowed words are abbreviated by taking the initial letters as done in the foreign language. Actually, the abbreviation in the foreign language is transliterated. For example, in Hindi and Nepali, the native word pradhyap is abbreviated as pra and jilla panchayat shadashya as ji. pa. sha. The borrowed abbreviation UNESCO is transliterated yunesco. The international and technical abbreviations must be transliterated like this instead of creating new conventions. However, in transliterations, native conventions will have to be fol-

lowed to be in tune with the pattern of the native language. For example, the English abbreviations like TV and JP are transliterated into Indian languages with a vowel after the consonant to make them a syllable like tivi and jepi. The transliteration thus follows the pronunciation of the English abbreviation and not the writing. There is variation in abbreviation in different parts of the country. For example, deputy superintendent of police is abbreviated as DSP in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar and as Dy SP in Haryana and Punjab. Uniformity in abbreviation at the national level and even at the international level is desirable for easy transformation of information. In some cases, abbreviations lead to ambiguity when two expressions are abbreviated in the same way. For example, in India, STD stands for sexually transmitted diseases and subscriber trunk dialing. This sometimes may lead to confusion, particularly when it is in the same discourse domain.

PUNCTUATION MARKS

Punctuations are symbolic representations of various linguistic boundaries related to words, clauses, sentences, and paragraphs. They also help to remove ambiguities. The punctuation system must be developed for the languages for which a writing system is newly developed. This may involve variation and inconsistency in the use of punctuation of marks in a language with a long tradition of writing but no punctuation system. Most of the Indian languages, for example, are developing punctuation systems as a result of the impact of Western languages and technology such as printing.

NUMERALS

One could include the writing of numerals under the writing system. There is an international numeral system based on the Arabic system, and there are other systems particular to nations or languages or scripts. For example, Devanagari and Tamil scripts have their own numerals. Different languages make different choices. Tamil has opted for the international numerals, whereas Hindi has opted for the Devanagari numerals. There was a big debate about the choice between the international and Devanagari numerals for Hindi as the official language of India when the Indian constitution was written, and the constitution makers decided in favor of the Devanagari numerals by a narrow vote. There is still, however, a strong lobby for the use of international numerals for all the Indian languages for the ease of reading milestones, bus numbers, number plates on cars, timetables, sales receipts, and so forth.

Even when the international numerals are used, there is variation in grouping the digits by commas, which indicates the counting system. In Indian languages, 100000 is written as 1,00,000 and in English, as 100,000. This is a reflection of the different counting systems and could not be changed without changing the counting systems. It, however, leads to some difficulty in reading numerals.

CONCLUSION

It is clear that the choices available regarding the planning of a writing system are many and that the criteria for making a particular choice are also many, sometimes even conflicting. Ethnic, regional, national, and international considerations play a role in the choice. The choice that is viable ultimately is the one that is a compromise of all these considerations.

NOTE

1. This is a report of a group on writing systems whose leaders were the first two authors, and the rest were its members.

SCRIPTAL CHOICE AND SPELLING REFORM IN BENGALI:
AN ATTITUDINAL SURVEY

Udaya Narayana Singh

A writing system is an important marker of identity.¹ Languages with writing systems of their own are placed higher in a sociolinguistic hierarchy by the speakers of these languages themselves and by the neighboring speech communities. It is for this reason that a linguistic group does not normally give up its writing system, however defective, technological-ly or otherwise. However, in order to identify with another group, some groups do give up their writing systems and adopt a new system without caring much for its suitability for their language. The adoption of a "foreign" script may not be a result of conscious language planning. One could give various reasons for such a shift. It may be caused by the marginal use of the native writing system over a long period of time. It may also be caused by political pressures for a change. A social scientist may explain this later by saying that the speakers have moved in that direction in order to achieve national integration or to "join the mainstream."

Change or reform of script is brought about through planning also. But quite often the language planner's prescriptions are not accepted by the community (Singh 1975). To

give one example, Jha (1971) and Chakradeo and Chakradeo (1974) suggest some changes in the writing system of Maithili and Hindi, respectively, without really trying to find out whether the suggested reforms, which create some visual disturbances in the reading habits of the native speakers of these languages, will be acceptable to the people.² Some planners agree that planning activities must take into account the speakers' opinions regarding the suggested change (Chatterji 1972), although they may not go to the extent of actually carrying out a survey to find out the reactions of the speakers. We are aware of the fact that in the past many a change was brought about without going through the above stage. The attempts made first by the Arya Samaj and later by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha to revive the use of the Devanagari alphabet in Kashmir and in other parts of north India where even Sanskrit was written in Perso-Arabic script in the eighteenth century are examples of this (Chatterji 1939). However, the present survey looks into speakers' attitudes toward some suggestions regarding Bengali script.

If we are to deal with writing systems and the reforms of these systems, it would probably be worthwhile to classify different types of language situations into two broad categories: monoscriptal and multiscriptal. When speakers of a language use only one writing system, we will call it a monoscriptal situation. When speakers may use more than one script, we will call it multiscriptal. It is possible that different social or religious groups use different scripts for the same language. Grierson (1908, 35) noted that "the character in general use in writing Magahī is Kaithī . . .

The Devanāgarī alphabet is occasionally used. For Eastern Magahī, we find the Bengali, and even the Oriyā alphabet, employed." This is a multiscriptal situation where the scriptal choice is horizontally distributed. This may happen when a codified language spreads across its original political or geographical boundaries (as happened in the case of Pali, which went to Thailand along with Buddhism) and is written in a different script.

There are also situations where the choice is determined vertically in different ways by different social classes. In the case of Gujarati, Devanagari script is reported to be used only by the Nāgara Brāhmaṇas, and Kaithī by Vāṇiō "shopkeepers" and by Śarrāf "bankers," while the script in general use was Gujaratī (Grierson 1908).

Multiscriptal situations may or may not become monoscriptal over a period of time. In cases where a multiscriptal speech community has a dominant speech community (in terms of power, numerical strength, or socioeconomic superiority) as its neighbor, it is forced to decide whether or not it wants to be identified with its neighbor. The change from multiscriptal practice to monoscriptal practice will depend on this decision. This is what happened in the case of Bodo speakers, whose dominant neighbor is the Assamese community, giving pressure to adopt the Assamese script. The Bodos launched an agitation in favor of the Roman script (Prabhakar 1974). A stalemate continued for some time, and finally the central government intervened to solve the problem, suggesting the Devanagari script for writing Bodo (Pattanayak, personal communication). In this case, the speakers had decided

not to identify themselves with the dominant neighboring community, and therefore a compromise solution had to be found.

To learn the attitudes of Bengali speakers, a monoscriptal community, to a suggested script change and spelling reform for their language and to compare them with the attitudes of Maithili speakers, a multiscriptal community, a small survey was conducted among 106 college and university students. The survey was conducted in 1975-76 in Lady Brabourne College (Calcutta), Maitreyi College (Delhi), Laxmibai College (Delhi), Department of Modern Indian Languages (Delhi), and Tej Narayan Banaili College (Bhagalpur). It covered 54 Bengali and 52 Maithili subjects altogether. All of them have Bengali or Maithili as major or subsidiary subjects in their institutions, where they are doing intermediate, undergraduate, or postgraduate courses; 95 percent of them are trilingual, knowing English and Hindi besides their respective mother tongues. We may note here that while 17 percent of the Maithili-speaking students understood Bengali even if they were not able to speak it, none of the Bengali students knew Maithili.

A questionnaire was administered to all 106 students, who were required to give their response mainly by ticking the appropriate block against each question. The first part of the questionnaire was devoted to questions concerning background information of the subjects. It included questions regarding name, address, the original place of residence of their parents, sex, level of education, socioeconomic level, places where they were educated, places where they lived for more than three years, profession of the parents, and the languages they knew.

The samples were not representative of the entire population, and the Bengali and Maithili samples were different in terms of their variables. All the Bengali subjects were female, and although their ages ranged between 17 and 28, 83 percent of them were between 19 and 21. Twenty-five of the Bengali students were educated in Calcutta, and the rest (29) were educated in Delhi, where Hindi and Punjabi are dominant languages. Compared to this relatively homogenous group, Maithili-speaking subjects came from Saharsa, Darbhanga, Purnea, and Bhagalpur districts. Only 12 percent of these students were female, and the age of both male and female students ranged between 15 and 26. In Maithili, apart from the scholars of Maithili and the educated speakers of the older generation, only the present-day students have learned (or were supposed to have learned) all the three scripts of the language: Devanagari, which is used now in writing; Tirhuta, which is akin to Bengali, both being derived from the Northeastern Brahmi characters; and Kaithi, which was, according to Grierson (1908, 11), used "all over the north of India, from the Gujarat coast to the river Kosi. Throughout this great tract it has many variations: some depending upon locality and others upon individual handwriting." The samples consisted only of students because it is in the attitudes of the present-day educated class that the scriptal and spelling choices in the future could be discerned.

The second part of the questionnaire for both Bengali and Maithili subjects included questions on language rating in terms of "sweetness"--one of those common linguistic prejudices--involving mother tongue, English, and Hindi. It also

included questions on scriptal choice, spelling reforms, and ideal medium of instruction. In particular, the participants were asked if they would be willing to give up their respective writing systems and adopt another for the sake of national integration and ease of second-language learning if all other Indian speech communities did that. This was followed by a question that asked them to choose from four alternatives: (a) Roman script, (b) Devanagari script, (c) a new script (to be devised), and (d) no change. They were also required to choose from three media of instruction: (a) mother tongue, (b) Hindi, and (c) English. The questions regarding spelling reforms were not asked directly in the same way. Rather, they were explained. All the students agreed that Bengali had redundancies in graphemic variations such as the following, which made the task of learning written Bengali difficult not only for the second or foreign language learner, but also for the native child.

- (i) ি / ি̄; ই / ই̄ (i/ī)
- (ii) u / ū; ৄ / ৄ̄; উ / উ̄ (u/ū)
- (iii) ন / ন̄ (n/n̄)
- (iv) স / স̄; শ / শ̄ (s/s̄)
- (v) র / র̄; ঝ / ঝ̄ (r/r̄)

Two texts were shown, one written in the present spelling system and the other in a reformed system where the variations and redundancies were eliminated. These were written in the "Calit" (low variety) Bengali in which most of the creative and other literature is written nowadays. The lines made a stanza of a poem written by us, which included the first four graphemic variants given above. To avoid bias,

which was likely to have happened if the questions were written in the present spelling, the questionnaire for the Bengali subjects was written in English. The questionnaire in Maithili has nothing to do with the choice of the spelling system, and it was written in Maithili.

We shall now look into the results of the survey. In answer to the question regarding change of script of their language, the response of 77 percent of the Maithili subjects was positive as against that of 61 percent of the Bengali subjects. It is interesting to note that even monoscriptal subjects are willing to change their script for the purpose of "national integration" (whatever that may mean to them). Although one would expect that the Delhi-Bengali students would be more willing to change script because they live with those who use the script of an LWC, viz., Hindi, the results show the opposite. Seventy-two percent of the Calcutta-Bengali students are pro-change compared to 52 percent of the Delhi-Bengalis. This shows perhaps that the linguistic insecurity of the Delhi-Bengalis, who are a negligible minority in Delhi, contributes to the attitude. The higher percentage of response of the Maithili subjects in favor of change is perhaps due to the fact that in the last few decades the Maithilis gave up Tirhuta or Maithili script in favor of Devanagari (Singh 1980).

When we consider the script these two groups favor for change, the differences between them come to the surface. Their preferences are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Scriptal Choice of Bengali and Maithili Students.

		Roman	Nagari	New Script	None
Bengali	(54)	28%	8%	26%	39%
Maithili	(52)	8%	69%	0%	23%

When the 39 percent no-changers in the Bengali group were specifically asked which script they would choose if, by an enactment or otherwise, change were forced on them, all of them replied that they would resist such a forced change. When the 23 percent no-changers in the Maithili group were asked the same question, they reacted in a different way: 83 percent said that in such an eventuality, they would favor Nagari, whereas 17 percent would opt for Roman. If this response is added to the responses in the natural situation, the revised results would be as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Scriptal Choice of Bengali and Maithil Students in the Event of a Forced Script Change.

		Roman	Nagari	New Script	None
Bengali	(54)	28%	8%	26%	39%
Maithili	(52)	12%	88%	0%	0%

Tables 1 and 2 need to be interpreted in a more meaningful way. Since Maithilis already use the Nagari script, to say that they favor a switchover to Nagari would practically mean no change for them. This probably indicates the present support for the use of Nagari. Therefore, for practical purposes, only 12 percent Maithilis favored any scriptal change, whereas 61 percent of Bengali students favored it. Ninety-two percent of them do not want any Indian script (expressed here as Devanagari) to replace the native script, and 26 percent of them would go as far as favoring a new script. Interestingly enough, none of the Maithili-speaking students wants a new script.

The difference in attitudes of these two groups of students can be seen also in their replies to the question of medium of instruction. The subjects were asked which of three media of instruction they would select in the future for their children. While only 16 percent of the Maithili subjects wanted their children to go through Maithili-medium schools, as many as 64 percent of the Bengali students favored mother-tongue instruction. While none of the latter would favor the Hindi medium, 44 percent of the Maithilis would opt for it. An almost equal number of students of both groups (about 40 percent) wanted to have their children taught through English.³ Table 3 shows the responses.

Table 3. Bengali and Maithili Students' Choice of Medium of Instruction.

	Mother tongue	Hindi	English
Bengali	64%	0%	36%
Maithili	16%	44%	40%

Finally, opinion of the Bengali students was sought regarding a radical change in the spelling conventions of Bengali, whereby for the first four variants noted earlier only ঊ, ঋ (both marking 'u'), ঈ, ঐ (both marking 'i') and (for sibilants) would be used. Such changes would make the Bengali text in (a) look like that in (b).

(a)	দারুন	সীতের	বিন
	daruṇa	sītera	bīṇa
	অবকাশ	ঊষা	হীন
	abakaśa	uṣa	hīna
	বিষাদে	সীতল	রূপ
	biṣāde	sītala	rūpa
	ভীষন	ভাষায়	
	bhiṣaṇa	bhābāya ⁴	

(b) দারুন সীতের বিন, অবকাশ ঊষা হীন
বিষাদে সীতল রূপ ভীষন ভাষায়।

The (b) version, though considered desirable, was rejected by the majority of the subjects: 83 percent students would not accept such visual disturbance created by a radical spelling change, however "scientific" it might be. Eighty-eight percent of the Calcutta-Bengalis rejected the proposed reform, while 79 percent were against it among the Delhi-Bengalis.

We have in this paper shown that, in certain aspects of the language, even a slight change suggested by the language planner is vehemently resisted, however logical the change may be from the pedagogical or other points of view.⁵ We have also shown that a multiscriptal speech community such as Maithili is gradually transforming itself to a monoscriptal one by trying to be identified in script with the Hindi speech community, whereas a monoscriptal speech community such as Bengali wants to retain its identity. The shortcomings and the possible errors notwithstanding, this study demonstrates the necessity to conduct such sociolinguistic surveys on a much larger scale by controlling as many variables as possible before the language planners suggest reforms and changes in the language, particularly in the areas of script and spelling.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to all the subjects who participated in this survey and who helped to conduct it successfully. Be-

fore undertaking the survey, I immensely benefitted from the discussions I had with Professor P.B. Pandit. I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. S.M. Das, Dr. Jayanti Chattopadhyay, Dr. Prem Shankar Singh, Mrs. Kanika Bose, and Mrs. Bani Ganguly for assisting me in the survey in different ways. I am also grateful to Dr. K.V. Subbarao and Dr. K.M.N. Menon for their suggestions for improvement of the earlier version of the paper.

2. Chakradeo and Chakradeo hold that since इ 'i' of Devanagari creates confusion as to whether to pronounce the vowel before or after the following consonant, it is better to do away with the vertical stroke. In this way, they say, "the anomaly will be removed, space will be saved, the width of the cap can be standardized." Jha points out that the Devanagari character is in some cases too narrow and in others too wide to write the Maithili language. Therefore, "either one could use the old Maithili script which is more suitable for the language, or one should make necessary modifications before adopting Devanagari for Maithili."

3. Note that at the time of the survey English was not a school subject in Bihar, where Maithili is spoken. It was reintroduced shortly afterwards.

4. The underscored word-final vowels are not pronounced.

5. The response may be different for other areas of grammar or other aspects of language (Singh 1975).

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TERM PLANNING AND VOCABULARY PLANNING:
CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

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with
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DEFINITIONS

A term names a concept characteristic of any special field of knowledge and is often presented in a glossary, which is a list of terms with their definitions. By vocabulary we mean the stock of words in a language. By term planning and vocabulary planning we mean an activity organized in a planning mode that deals with terms and words respectively.¹

TERM PLANNING

In stable speech communities and for the established domains of use in a language, the need for coordination and/or agreement on usage of terms may lead to term planning. Such planning characteristically identifies the vocabulary already in use in a specialized field and selects and elaborates a list of preferred words for those concepts that are seen to cen-

trally characterize this specialized field. This type of planning elaborates definitions, often with detailed attention to the interrelatedness and structure of concepts in the field. A typical product is a conceptually arranged glossary. The Swedish Centre of Technical Nomenclature (TNC), for example, publishes such glossaries. In the Indian situation, an example may be found in the literature of Ayurvedic medicine.

VOCABULARY PLANNING

Another type of planning is the companion and consequence of domain expansion of a language. A most common objection to introducing the use of a language into administration, education, science, etc., when that language has not been so used before, is that there are no words for the new domains in that language and the language has not been sufficiently developed. This objection is circular. Linguists say that any language has the potential of meeting any communication need, be it science, philosophy, or politics. As Pattanayak says in this volume, "No language was 'developed' before it was called upon to meet the needs of the society at any time, not even the English language." But we do not agree with the objection either because, in reality, development and dissemination of vocabulary are demanded in a systematic way, at least concurrently with the using of the language in new domains. Vocabulary planning is a vocabulary-mediated effort to implement the use of a particular language in specified domains. Subsidiary aims may be to promote a particular kind

of vocabulary and to promote a certain amount of agreement in the use of words, thus preparing for term planning in the future.

It would be interesting to explore whether premature selection of some words or kinds of words would be counter-productive, not just with reference to the individual words in the promotional "glossaries" (as wordlists in vocabulary planning in India and elsewhere are normally called) but also for the promotion effort as a whole. For example, promoting Sanskritized words in Kannada, as Mr. Sasnur said in a lecture at the Language Planning Institute, took the planners farther away from the entire enterprise. Examples of "Sanskritization mistakes" in the Kannada wordlist are abhiyantā 'engineer' and āraksi 'constable', for which the colloquial Kannada injinīyaru and polisu are perfectly good. As the main aim of the promotion is to induce lower-level officials in the state administration to use Kannada, according to him, it is better to know the words that already exist in daily usage, and the planning agency must be more interested in using the colloquial. Revision of wordlists on the basis of usage thus becomes not only feasible but desirable to smooth over any objections to domain expansion that might arise out of objectionable characteristics of the promoted vocabulary.

The desirability of revision is confirmed by Sharma (in this volume). He says that one could aspire to some amount of agreement on words in law when the usage has settled, and usage was the reason that the government of India revised the original glossary of legal terms at regular intervals. The

revision was to catch up with usage in the courts and to incorporate the new words created in the process of translation of laws after eliciting reactions to them from the legal practitioners.

The typical product of vocabulary planning then is a wordlist, often referred to as a glossary, which does not offer definitions but gives only equivalents to the words in a source language, which is normally the language of prior use in the domain for which the language of the wordlist is now promoted.

EVALUATION

Planning is a happening in a historical process. An evaluation of the success of vocabulary and term planning must be in terms of its impact, whether intended or unintended. Who is assisted or favored by it? What purposes does it serve in professional or political life? What effect does it have on educational opportunities in the community, and so on. Since vocabulary planning serves the language promotion goal, the emphasis in the evaluation of the impact of vocabulary planning must be placed in the context of domain expansion: Under what conditions is vocabulary planning seen to be necessary, how does vocabulary intervention interact with other political and social processes during the domain expansion, and so on. This is perhaps a complicated issue, but it is of considerable historical and social interest.

Another aspect of evaluation is to look at the intended effect of planning, which in the case of term planning is the effect on the relevant situations of language use in the specialized field of knowledge: How do the availability of a glossary and the use of agreed terms facilitate and organize the relevant communicative situations?

What measures are to be used for evaluation is problematical because the goals are very rarely expressed in operational details by the planners. It is an urgent research problem to establish with what expectations the glossaries are prepared and how they are used in specialized fields.

In vocabulary planning, when the major goal is domain expansion of a language, the appropriate criterion would be whether the use of the language has increased. This again is a complex issue which can be broken down, according to sociolinguistic models of communication, into participant, topic, place, channel, etc. One should assess the positive or negative contribution of vocabulary planning to the larger goal by asking whether the use or dissemination of recommended words facilitates or hinders domain expansion and how? If, ultimately, the purpose of domain expansion is to serve the public better, one should ask whether the use of the recommended vocabulary makes more people respond to administrative or public messages? This is also a complex question but is of intensely practical value and should be given priority in research.

Much more accessible to study is the evaluation of the usage of the terms and words. The question would be whether the "targeted groups" of users actually use, know, and like

the recommended terms and words. This approach needs to establish a baseline at a point of time before planning began in order to measure usage after planning. It also needs to measure usage at selected points in time after planning when an effect on usage can reasonably be expected. If the planners anticipated a certain effect at a particular time, measurement ought to be done accordingly. One would also have to consider the extent of coexistence of the recommended terms and words with other (rejected, competing, alternating) terms and words.

Another interesting possibility of evaluation is to ask whether and how much the terms and words that are used differ from the linguistic criteria laid down to guide the planning activity. The planners themselves may not have managed to approximate the often hierarchical preferences for certain kinds of linguistic structures of vocabulary. Yet, how such metalinguistic considerations enter into acceptance or rejection of terms and words is an interesting question.

Sometimes claims on motivatedness or transparency of the terms and words are made for their acceptability. Such claims can also be taken into account for evaluation.

Another aspect of evaluation in multilingual planning is the question of whether a federal (e.g., pan-Indian) set of instructions or principles is reflected across the many languages involved and, specifically, whether the terms and words of individual languages are in fact equivalent to the federal ones in the recommended list or in actual usage.

A comprehensive evaluation of term and vocabulary planning would take into account all the above aspects and construct a model reflecting different emphases in planning at different stages of the social and economic development of the community and under different sociolinguistic conditions.

CONCLUSION

Term planning normally occurs as a corrective response, on request from or in collaboration with the users in specialized disciplines. Vocabulary planning occurs in response to a systematically felt need for replacement of one language by another, i.e., to correct an inadequacy of the system. The vocabulary expansion may have an unintended effect in that it takes place not in response to any corrective need at the level of vocabulary but in response to principles (ideologies) such as nativization, internationalization, or Sanskritization. These principles are sentimentally derived, interpreted, and supported. The result will, at least in some cases, be unintelligible and unwanted terms and words by users either for sentimental reasons or for reasons of lack of need as other words are already in use.

Corrective response to inadequacies implies feedback. In the case of vocabulary planning, feedback will have to be deliberately organized in order to test reactions and to stimulate acceptance of the new words. A willingness to revise and to tolerate synonyms in common use appears to be a wise approach. This may, in fact, happen without design, as the

following examples from the Marathi glossary of recommended words illustrate:

share	bhāga, shear, hissā
share holder	bhāga dhāraka
share broker	shear dalāla
share bazaar	shear bājār
share market	shear bājār
share certificate	bhāgapatra, shearapatra
share capital	bhāga bhāndavala

After all, the emphasis in vocabulary planning is not on the acceptance of individual words but on gaining acceptance for a language.

NOTE

1. This is a group report prepared by the group whose leaders were the first two authors and whose members were the remaining authors.

LANGUAGE STANDARDIZATION AND LEXICOGRAPHY

R.A. Singh

One of the earliest definitions of language planning is the one by Haugen, who defined it as "the activity of providing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a nonhomogeneous speech community" (Haugen 1959, 8).¹ Lexicography is directly concerned with one of these three activities, viz., providing a normative dictionary. The lexicographer also contributes to the other two activities, though it may be indirectly and marginally. A dictionary is an important tool for codification of a language (Dua 1976), and codification is one of the four major areas of language planning (Rubin and Jernudd 1971, 213). It has a direct bearing on the process of standardization. All dictionaries may not have the same degree of standardizing effect. Some dictionaries are specially compiled with a view to "regulating and improving existing languages" (Tauli 1968, 27). Some dictionaries aim at an overall description of all variations of a language and not at a prescription for use, but they also have some standardizing effect on the language. The standardization is effected through the different components of the dictionary, viz., the entry forms, meaning, grammatical tag, usage, and the like.

The normative dictionary, which is specially compiled with a view to standardizing the language, does not describe the variations in the language but describes "what is generally regular, normal, what is norm" (Zgusta 1971, 211). It thus performs the function of influencing the future on the basis of present knowledge of the past as does language planning (Haugen 1961, 133). The dictionaries prepared by the Italian and French academies in the wake of the emergence of standard national languages are good examples of normative dictionaries. The Academic Dictionary of the Russian language was compiled to fulfill the normative function with clear grammatical, semantic, and stylistic descriptions. This was preceded by a four-volume dictionary of the standard Russian language, which was prepared at the insistence of Lenin through the Academy of Sciences after the revolution.

In the general dictionary, on the other hand, the lexicographer presents a general description of the lexical stock of a language. Like a historian, he records the language as it is and does not prescribe norms of usage. Nevertheless, he becomes prescriptive even in the general dictionary, although unknowingly. The reader consults a general dictionary to learn the meaning and usage of a word and sometimes also its spelling and pronunciation. Though the meaning, usage, spelling, and pronunciation are factual statements of the language, one generally looks upon them as a frame of reference and considers them to be correct. Thus all dictionaries contribute to standardization in some degree or other (Garvin 1964, 521).

The lexicographer, in order to be authentic and comprehensive, describes a language over a long period of time but makes a decision in respect to the variety or varieties of the language to be dealt with. As the number of words is quite large in a language, he has to make a selection of words. He has to decide on the amount of colloquial or dialectal words or neologisms that find a place in his dictionary. These decisions provide a ground for the development of norms in the language.

While for a general dictionary, data are collected from all kinds of oral and written words, the normative dictionary maker selects his data from creative writings, scientific literature, textbooks, journals, and the like. He selects the data in such a way as to make the language appear to be a homogeneous system (Srivastava 1968, 120). The normative dictionary presents "a type at the root of which lies a unified (real) language consciousness of a defined speech group of a specific time span" (Shcherba 1940, 55, quoted in Srivastava 1968).

The normative dictionary enters words from dialects only when they are used by some writers for literary effect. The inclusion of batiyana 'to talk', bawandar 'storm', etc. in Manak Hindi Kosh is on this basis. The lexicographer exploits the dialectal lexical stock when the standard dialect does not have a simple word. For example, Bhojpuri podhānā is included in place of praudhā hōnā 'mature', barkānā or barānā, again from Bhojpuri, is selected for of bīc bīc mē chor jānā 'leave one in the middle, skip' in Manak Hindi Kosh.

The normative lexicographer faces a problem with regard to neologisms coined by committees, which have the authority of the planner but not the acceptance of the user. There exist corresponding common words, which sound ordinary. The following are examples of such pairs, where the words in the last column were created by the Hindi Parishat.

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Common word</u>	<u>Coined word</u>
fishing rod	banśi	ākheṭ daṇḍa
arsenic	sankhiya	nepalaj
sulphur	gandhaka	śulbāri
auction	nīlām	kośavikrava
octroi	cungi	dwarādeya
tehsil	tehsīl	bhukti

The normative dictionary gives the more frequently and widely accepted variants. Even in a general dictionary, where all the variants are given, preference for the more frequent form is shown by giving the full entry for it and giving cross reference to the other ones. For example, in the pairs in Hindi dīwāl, dīwār; dhāḍhas, dhāras; ṭhandā, ṭhandhā; Bengali gāñi, gāñ; gāñi, gāñi only one is given a full entry. When the variants are given in the same entry, the more frequent is given first, giving a clue to the norm. With labels like rare, uncommon, occasional, etc., the lexicographer indicates the relative frequency of a word and gives a clue to the norm.

Labels are used as tools to describe the status of a word and its meaning in respect to its social, temporal, and spatial characteristics. Labels also indicate the domains of use. Slang, vulgar, colloquial, and other stylistic labels and the labels of subject fields like chemistry and astronomy give the domains. Temporal labels like archaic and obsolete and regional labels like dialectal indicate the nonstandard and the regional use of words. These labels distinguish the norms from the others.

As already noted, a dictionary contributes to the standardization of orthography and is referred to for correct spelling. Orthographical dictionaries and dictionaries indicating word boundaries serve this purpose specifically. By preference for a particular spelling, the lexicographer helps to eliminate variants as given in the following entries in a Khasi dictionary.

ad (long a), better at (short a). v. amplify, append, swell.

adkar (better than adykar). adv. considerably.

The word better clearly indicates that one form is preferred. The Roman alphabet as used now for Khasi is not adequate to represent the phonetic values of all its sounds, and the lexicographer suggests modifications in the existing practice. The spelling preference in the dictionaries can be found in other languages also. Hindi dukān against dukān 'shop', kauā against kauwā 'crow', Sindhi rsi against ṛṣi and risi 'saint', Dogri riṇa against ṛṇa 'debt', triloki against traloki 'of the three worlds', jñān against gyān 'knowledge'.

A pronunciation dictionary is another type of normative

dictionary that helps in standardization of pronunciation.

For languages with grammatical gender like Hindi, indication of gender, especially for borrowed and newly coined words, provides the rule for the correct use of the gender. In Hindi, pulis 'police' and tebul 'table' are masculine. The dictionary prescribes a gender when there is variation in use. Examples are dhaniā 'corriander', pyāj 'onion', and kalam 'pen' in Hindi.

Expansion of vocabulary is a major goal of codification. The dictionaries of technical terms and subject glossaries play a major role in this. The vocabulary is expanded by borrowing or by new coinage or by adding new meanings to the existing words. A lexicographer examines the international technical terms and incorporates them into the dictionary with or without modified spelling. The Hindi dictionary, for example, has witamin 'vitamin', petrol 'petrol', akādami 'academy'. The new words are not only from the international languages, but also from other Indian languages: mal 'silt' from Punjabi, bēgci 'tadpole' from Bengali, and pawati 'acknowledgement' from Marathi are given in the Hindi dictionary.

The technical senses are added to the existing words in the dictionary to gain currency. In this process, the lexicographer helps to standardize some technical terms. For example, in Hindi ākramaṇa 'aggression', sahasāghāt 'coup', and dhārā 'current' are now widely used.

The lexicographer also selects one out of the competing technical terms. More than one word is in use in Hindi for the following technical concepts.

energy	śakti, ūrjā
velocity	vega, gati
force	bal, sāmārthya, śakti
lecturer	pravktā, prādhyāpaka
principal	ācārya, pradhānācārya

The lexicographer of a technical dictionary gives one of them, having made the selection on the basis of frequency. In this process, he eliminates artificial creations made by purists. The Sanskritized terms in Hindi like haryātu 'barium' and miśrātu 'allow' formed with a new suffix ātu (derived from the Sanskrit dhatu) are excluded from the dictionary. Similarly artificial are words like bijaliyānā 'electrification', sthāniyānā 'localize', and gināvā 'census'.

It may not be out of place to refer to the role of learners' dictionaries in language standardization. The different types of learners' dictionaries such beginners' dictionaries, dictionaries for advanced learners, dictionaries of collocations, and dictionaries of basic words are meant to help in learning a language and in the preparation of teaching materials. The main function of these dictionaries is to facilitate learning, but teaching materials based on them help to maintain uniformity.

The role of dictionaries for language standardization of the unwritten or newly written languages is much more significant. As the language is codified for the first time, the basic problem is not one of selection from alternative forms but of recording. Besides collecting as many lexical items as possible from different semantic fields and from different

domains of language use, the lexicographer has to fill in the vast onomasiological gaps in the language--the gaps of words in different fields currently being introduced to the speech community. The language variety from which he chooses his words along with their pronunciation, spelling, and meaning becomes the standard of the language. The dictionary of an unwritten language exerts more normative effect in that it codifies spelling, meaning, and usage for the first time. As the language is developing, it needs more kinds of dictionaries. Although a comprehensive monolingual dictionary is the ideal for an unwritten language, preparation of bilingual dictionaries with the dominant language will have the priority from the utilitarian point of view. In a multilingual country like India, there is a need to prepare multilingual dictionaries for the unwritten languages in order to provide links not only with the dominant regional language of the state but also with the official languages of the nation. The bilingual and multilingual dictionaries have normative influence on the unwritten languages.

NOTE

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PROBLEMS OF PREPARING AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS OF ACTS
IN INDIAN LANGUAGES FROM THE EXISTING ENGLISH TEXTS

B.K. Sharma

India opted for language planning in its Constitution.¹ Language planning involves several stages, such as selection, codification, elaboration, and implementation. After some discussion, the Indian Constitutional Assembly adopted Hindi in the Devanagari script as the official language of the Union. The Constitution itself had provided for the setting up of a commission, to be known as the official Language Commission, to make recommendations to the president on matters relating to the official language of the Union. The Commission in its report suggested that in the field of law it was necessary to take two important steps, the development of legal terminology and the reenactment of the statute book in Hindi. It further recommended that maximum possible identity should be aimed at in evolving terminology for all Indian languages and that suitable efforts should be made to coordinate the efforts made at the Centre and in the states to evolve terminology in Hindi and other Indian languages. After considering the various recommendations made by the Official Languages Commission, a presidential order was issued in 1960.

Accordingly, in 1961 the Official Language (Legislative) Commission was constituted by the Union and entrusted with some of the tasks in these areas of codification and elaboration. The Commission considered it prudent not to disassociate preparation of the standard legal lexicon from reenactment of the statute book in Hindi. It was of the view that whenever a synonym has to be fixed for a concept or a term it should be considered and fixed only in the context in which it has been used. Hence, translation of acts and preparation of standard legal terminology went side by side, or in other words, the law lexicon was a by-product of reenactment of the statute book in Hindi.

AUTHORITATIVE TEXT AND TRANSLATION

In this article I propose to point out certain characteristics of preparation of authoritative texts of acts in the official language of the Union. The field of law covers a vast area which includes legal documents (such as leases, sale deeds, and mortgages), subordinate legislation (consisting of rules, regulations, bylaws, etc.), judgments of courts of record and language deliberations in the legislatures. In all these areas the use of language has some distinguishing characteristics. However, I will confine myself to the requirements of clause (a) of subsection (1) of Section 5 of the Official Languages Act.

The relevant portion of Section 5 of the Official Languages Act lays down that a translation in Hindi published under

the authority of the president in the Official Gazette on and after the appointed day of any central act or any ordinance promulgated by the president shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in Hindi. A translation is different from an authoritative text. A court can deliver judgments based on an authoritative text only. The authoritative text may be in one language or may be in two (as in the case of Canada and India) or more languages (as in the case of the Charter of the United Nations). A translation can be used as an extrinsic aid to interpretation, but beyond that it has no value in a court of law. What is introduced in the legislature is a bill, and after being passed by the houses of legislature and assented to by the governor or the president, as the case may be, it is transformed into an act. Similarly, under Section 5 of the Official Languages Act, what is submitted to the president is a translation of a central enactment, and when it is published under his or her authority in the Official Gazette it becomes the authoritative text of that act in Hindi. The Constitution contains similar provisions for obtaining authoritative texts in English. Clause (3) of Article 348 provides that where the legislature of a state has prescribed any language other than the English Language for use in bills and the like, an English translation published under the authority of the governor in the Official Gazette of that state shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language.

These authoritative texts should not be taken to mean that the Indian language text is inferior in importance or that it gives a general idea of the law and as such is not to be

relied upon by the courts of justice when applying it to cases coming before them for adjudication. These texts are of equal standing, and the courts can base their interpretation of the provisions contained in the relevant act by taking into consideration the texts in each of the official languages.

As pointed out above, the object of translation is not merely transference of the meaning of the text from the source language into a text in the target language. The aim in this case is to prepare an authoritative text of an act in the target language. Once the text has been prepared, it has an independent existence. The courts need not always interpret it by looking at the text in the source language. Even today in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, and other states, the high courts generally deliver judgments after considering only one authoritative text.

The problem arises in a peculiar way in India because the legislative field is already crowded with numerous laws originally enacted in the English language. The necessity to have their texts in such Indian languages as have been adopted as official languages by the constituent states of the Indian Union and in any case in Hindi arose after 1950. So provisions enacted in English have to be transferred into Indian languages.

The morphology of Indian languages differs radically from that of the English language, and so parallel texts in English, on the one hand, and Indian languages, on the other, involve considerable linguistic complexities.

TRANSLATION CONCERNS

Principles of Interpretation and Drafting

The preparation of an authoritative text of an act involves observance of certain principles that guide the courts and the draftsman in interpreting and drafting statutes. One of the foremost principles of drafting is that the text should be, as far as humanly possible, capable of giving only one meaning, and that meaning should be that which was intended by the draftsman. Texts capable of two or more meanings were considered as proud creations by Sanskrit poets. But ambivalence is a draftsman's nightmare. Similarly, another principle of drafting, as well as of interpretation, is that one word should be employed in one sense only, and if a different sense is intended, a different word should be used. A person translating an act has to keep in mind these and many other principles of drafting including, the provisions of the interpretation act (in India, the General Clauses Act, 1897) which enacts certain general conventions for the interpretation of statutes. There is an interaction between the form of communication and rules by which it is to be interpreted. The rules of interpretation have been refined to a high degree, and consequently drafting possesses matching refinement, achieved, to a certain degree, at the cost of general intelligibility and clarity.

I will not dwell on these principles in detail, because the purpose here is only to point out that one who has to prepare the text of an act in a language other than the one

in which it was enacted is to a certain extent drafting the other text and so has to observe the same rules and principles as the draftsman of that act. He or she has also to pay due attention to the peculiar genius of each language.

Transposition

Preparation of the Indian-language text of an act in the English language generally requires similar procedures. Frequently translation procedure involves transposition due to differences in linguistic systems. Transposition may be simple or complex. Simple transposition takes place when a verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, or adverb is replaced by a word of a different class or when a phrase is interchanged with a word or vice versa. But transposition should be such that the meaning denoted remains unchanged.

Standardization

Preparation of an authoritative text also involves standardization of many units of language, including lexical and clause standardization.

An enactment, according to the General Clauses Act, 1897, includes any provision contained in any act. References are frequently made to different parts of an act that are, to facilitate reference, numbered according to a set pattern. In Hindi also these numberings have been standardized. Arabic numerals, which are termed the "international form of Indian numerals" in the Constitution (and which in Arabic are

called Hindsa), are written in the same form. Roman numerals I, III, III, IV, etc. are written in the same form. Clauses numbered A., B., C., D. (or a., b., c., d.) etc. are rendered as ka, kha, ga, gha, etc. Generally no distinction is made between capital and small letters. When it becomes imperative to do so, ad hoc ways are to be invented to suit the occasion and context. In the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, "Post Office" (with capital P and O) and "post office" (all small) are both defined terms.

Multiple Choice

In Hindi there is sometimes more than one synonym available and in order to maintain uniformity it becomes necessary to prescribe the use of such words. For the English word and, Hindi has four equivalents, aur, thatha, avam, and va. Similarly for or, Hindi has ya and athva. The general rule is that aur is the conjunction for joining, but where repetition tends to reduce clarity or intelligibility then thatha may be used. For example, in Ministry of Transport and Shipping and Ministry of Law, Justice and Company Affairs, the word and occurs thrice. In Hindi, the second and joining the two ministries would be replaced by thatha.

Another example of multiple choice of synonyms is the word you, which may be rendered as aap, tum, or too. Here only aap is to be used, which is the most formal and respectful mode of address.

The problem of choosing between competing options for the sake of uniformity occurs in another place. In the respect-

ful form of address, the verb is used in plural though the noun is singular. In law, the verb has to be singular only so that chances of ambivalence are reduced to a minimum.

Breaking Up a Sentence

When a section or a subsection or clause consists of only one sentence, it is permissible to break the sentence if in the process the clause numbering is not disturbed and the denotative meaning remains unaltered. The standard rule-laying clause running into several lines in print consists of one sentence in English, but in Hindi it has been broken into three. But the definition of agricultural income occurring in the Income Tax Act is one sentence in both languages even though it runs into forty lines in print.

Amending Acts

Rendering of amending acts is a task containing many pitfalls for the novice and the careless worker. The process is a lengthy one. The draftsman should (1) read the amending act, (2) fit the parts added or omitted along with the relevant parts of the principal act, (3) read the principal act in the target language, and then (4) find out how the target language draft should be amended in order to effect the changes contemplated by the amending act in the source language. The process requires experienced handling. Sometimes even clauses may have to be dropped or added. Sometimes when only a few portions of a section in the source language are changed in Hindi, the whole of the section may have to be replaced.

Section 88 of the Customs Act, 1962, reads as follows:

88. The provisions of Section 69 and Chapter X shall apply to stores (other than those to which Section 90 applies) as they apply to other goods, subject to the modifications that--

(a) for the words "exported to any place outside India" or the word "exported" wherever they occur the word "taken on board any foreign-going vessel or aircraft as stores" shall be substituted. . . .

The words mentioned above occur in the same form in the English text, but in Hindi at different places the words are employed differently. Hence in place of clause (a) in Hindi, four sub-clauses (i), (ii), (iii), and (iv) are substituted.

Words as Units of Translation

Definitions of certain terms contain a number of words. These terms by such definitions are converted into symbols for all the enumerated words. In such cases, the draftsman should take every word as a unit and replace it in the target language. A good many such words may be overlapping and at times more or less synonymous, and the temptation would be to omit some of them, but every word must be rendered in the target language. For example, the Trade and Merchandise Marks Act, 1958, contains the definition of package, which reads:

"Package" includes any case, box, container, covering, folder, receptacle, vessel, casket, bottle, wrapper, label, band, ticket, reel, frame, capsule, cap, lid, stopper and cork.

Here each one of the twenty words should be translated.

When not to Translate

One of the most important things to be borne in mind while preparing authoritative texts of acts is that not everything is meant to be translated. The translator must never lose sight of the fact that he or she is not a mere translator but that he or she is redrafting the statutes into another language. This caution must never be forgotten. When the authoritative text of an act has been published in Hindi, the name of the act must always be ascertained and quoted in the same way. A name of an act is a proper name. Similarly, those terms that have been defined by an act should be repeated from the original act and not retranslated. Where an act says, "For the purposes of this Section 'Firm' has the same meaning as in the Indian Partnership Act," the synonym for "firm" must be copied from the act referred to, as well as the title of the act. The names of statutory authorities (e.g., collector of customs, income tax officer), statutory corporations (e.g., Life Insurance Corporation, Reserve Bank of India), and designations occurring in earlier texts should be picked up from those texts. Titles of offenses created by acts (kidnapping, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, dacoity) should not be translated every time they are used but should be taken from the act creating that offense.

Transliteration

It would be useful to remember that in places transliteration should be employed in place of translation. Where reference is made to a repealed act for which the authoritative text in Hindi has not been prepared or cannot be prepared, then the title of the act is to be transliterated, that is to say, written in Devanagari script. Acts of British Parliament should be referred to this way.

Sometimes while defining an act the legislature may have used both Hindi and English equivalents to avoid ambiguity. For example, the Forward Contracts (Regulation) Act, 1952, in clause (g) of Section 2 contains this definition of the expression "option in goods":

"option in goods" means an agreement, by whatever name called, for the purchase or sale of a right to buy or sell or right to buy and sell, goods in future, and includes a teji, a mandi, a teji-mandi, a gallia put, a call or a put and call in goods.

The definition contains "put," "call," "put and call," as well as teji, mandi, and teji-mandi. In the Hindi version, "put," "call," and "put and call" are to be transliterated. It is generally believed that "put" and "call" are synonyms for teji and mandi, respectively, but the legislature thought that there is some slight variation in the area covered by these expressions and hence used both. For the sake of accuracy and also by way of abundant caution, both expressions are to be used.

